

DISCOURSE

Imprimatur,

*Sam. Parker R. in Christo
Patri ac D^{no}. D^{no}. Gil-
berto, Arch. Episc.
Cantuar. à sac. Dom.*

*April 15.
1673.*

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A SECOND
DISCOURSE
IN
VINDICATION

OF THE
Protestant Grounds of Faith,
Against the

Pretence of INFALLIBILITY
In the

ROMAN CHURCH,

In Answer to

The Guide in Controversies by R. H

Protestancy without Principles,
AND

Reason and Religion, or the Certain
Rule of Faith by E. W.

With a particular Enquiry into the Mi-
racles of the *Roman Church.*

By *Edward Stillingfleet* D. D. Chaplain in
Ordinary to His Majesty.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. W.* for *H. Mortlock*, at the Sign
of the *Phoenix* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and at
the *White Hart* in *Westminster Hall.* 1673.

To the Right Honourable

ANTHONY

Earl of Shaftsbury

Lord High Chancellor

OF GREAT BRITAIN

ENGLAND: &c.

My Lord,

HOPE I will not be

thought negligent

to make an Address of

this nature to Your

Excellency in the begin-

ning of Term, since the great

business to Your Court (as one of

late pleasantly said) is not between

the King and the Pope, between

Spain and the Empire of Rome.



Tr. R.
S 857SD

To the Right Honourable

ANTHONY
Earl of SHAFTSBURY,
Lord High Chancellor
OF
ENGLAND, &c.

My Lord,



H O P E it will not be
thought unseasonable
to make an Address of
this nature to Your
Lordship in the Begin-
ning of Term, since the great *Cause*
at present in Your Court (as one of
late pleasantly said) is that between
the *King* and the *Pope*, between our
Church and the *Church* of Rome. And
A 3 while

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while so many Witnesses are daily sworn of the Kings and the Churches side; it may not be imptoper to lay open to Your Lordship the Nature and Merits of the Cause.

A Cause, My Lord, which was at first set on Foot by Ambition, carried on by Faction, and must therefore be maintained by the like means; but can never hope to prevail among us again, till *subjection* to a *Forreign Power* can be thought our *Interest*, and to part at once with *Reason* and *Religion* be esteemed our *Honour*. It is a Cause much of the nature of some others depending before Your Lordship, more vexatious than difficult, and managed by such Advocates who being retained in the Cause, though they have nothing material to say for it, yet are ashamed to be silent. Who are alwayes disputing about an end of Controversies, but at the same time do their utmost to increase and

per-

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perpetuate them; and are ready to foment our differences that they may make use of them to their own advantage.

While we have such restless Adversaries to deal with, part of our danger lyes in being too secure of the *Goodness* of our *Cause*: and methinks there can be little satisfaction in lying still or quarrelling with each other, when we know our *common* enemies to be at work undermining of us. But whatever repose others enjoy, my Adversaries seem to deal with me, as some do with those whom they suspect of Witchcraft; they think by pinching me so often, and keeping me from taking rest, to make me say at last as they would have me. But the comfort is, as long as I am secure of my senses, I am of my Religion against theirs: if I once lose them or my understanding, I know not whether it may be my fortune to be carried to

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Rome, or some more convenient place. And in my opinion they deal with those under their care, as if they believed them not to be in their right senses, for they keep them alwayes in the dark, and think nothing more dangerous than to let in light upon them. Wherein I cannot deny, but considering the *nature* of their Cause, they take the most effectual course to maintain it; for it not being capable of enduring a severe tryal, nothing can preserve its reputation, but *Ignorance* and *Credulity*: which are therefore in so great esteem among them, that if it were a Custom to Canonize Things as well as Persons, we might find those sacred names in their Litanies; and addresses as solemn made to them, as ever were to Faith and Vertue among the elder and wiser *Romans*.

I need not go far, for an Instance of their design to advance, even in this

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this Inquisitive Age, the Honour of these two great Pillars of their Church: For if your Lordship shall be pleased to cast Your eye on the following Discourse, especially that part which concerns the *Miracles of the Roman Church*, You will find sufficient evidence of it almost in every Page. When I first engaged in this Controversie I could hardly believe what I now see, that they would ever have brought it to this issue with me, viz. That they would renounce all claim to *Infallibility*, if they did not produce as great Miracles wrought in their Church to attest it, as ever were wrought by Christ or his Apostles. The boldness of which assertion, and the pernicious influence of it upon Christianity it self, hath made me take the more pains in the examination of it. Which I have done with so much care in consulting their own approved *Authors*, that I hope at last they will grow ashamed of

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of that groundless calumny, that I do not deal fairly in the citing of them. A calumny so void of proof, that I could desire no better argument of a baffled Cause, than such impertinent Clamours. But if impudent sayings will serve their turn, they need never fear what can be written against them. Do they indeed think me a man so void of common sense, as to expose my self so easily to the contempt of every one that will but take pains to compare my citations? Have I the Books only in my own keeping? or are they so rare that they cannot get a sight of them? How then come they to know them to be false quoted? But alas! they are men of business, and have not leisure to search out and compare Books, and therefore the shortest way is to say, that *without doubt they are all false.* Their numbers certainly are not so small, nor their business so great,

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great, but they might have spared some to have undertaken this task particularly, if I had been faulty: and in my mind it had been of some consequence to have freed their Church from those heavy imputations of *Fanaticism*, and destroying the necessity of a good life, from the Testimony of their own Authors. But if these could not move them, I desire them not to spare me in this present subject of *Miracles*, wherein I profess to relye on the Testimony of their own Writers; if they shew me any wilful mistakes therein, I will endeavour to give them publick satisfaction.

Were I not well assured, My Lord, of the Strength of my Evidence, as well as of the Goodness of my Cause, I should never have appeared in it before a Person of so sharp and piercing a Judgement as Your Lordship. But I have the rather presumed to offer this Discourse into Your Lordships hands, and

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and to send it abroad under the Protection of Your Name, not only thereby to acknowledge the particular Favours I have received from Your Lordship; but to thank You on a more publick Account, I mean for Your late generous owning the Cause of our Religion and Church in so Critical a time; which not only gives a present Lustre to Your Name, but will preserve it with Honour to Posterity. I am,

My Lord,

T
Your Lordships most obliged
and faithful Servant

Edward Stillingfleet.



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CHAP. I.

*An Answer to the Guide in Controversies
about Infallibility, and the Resolution
of Faith.*

§. I.  Here are two great Pleas for the necessity of Infallibility in the Roman Church, one to make an end of Controversies, the other to lay a sufficient Foundation for divine Faith. Having therefore fully examined the former Plea in the foregoing discourse, I shall now proceed to the latter; with a particular respect to those Adversaries, who have undertaken the Defence of the Cause of the Church of *Rome* against me in this Controversie. And because all this dispute refers to the Principles of Faith, I shall undertake to shew,

The state
of the
Contro-
versie
about In-
fallibility;
and the
Resolution
of Faith.

1. That

1. That the Principles laid down by them are false and fallacious.

2. That the Protestant Principles defended by me are sound and true.

1. For the better examination of their Principles, I shall give a brief account of the Rise and State of this Controversie about the Grounds of Faith. The Arch-Bishops Adversary in Conference with him, asked *how he knew the Scripture to be the Word of God*, hoping thereby to drive him to the necessity of owning *the Infallible Testimony of the present Roman Church*: but he failed so much of his end, that the Arch-Bishop fully proved, "that such a Testimony could not be the Foundation of that Faith, whereby we believe the Scriptures, to be the Word of God; and that there are sufficient Grounds for Faith without it. One of the great arguments whereby he disproved that way of Resolving Faith was, that it was impossible to avoid a vitious circle in proving the Churches Infallibility by Scripture, and the Scripture by the Infallible Testimony of the Church. This difficulty, which hath puzzled the greatest Wits of the Roman Church, his Answerer thought to avoid by saying, *that the Churches Infallibility was not primarily proved by the Scripture, but by the Motives of Credibility which belong to the Church*

Church in the same manner that Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles were proved to be Infallible. Which bold assertion obliged me in a large discourse to shew these three things. 1. That this way of resolving Faith was manifestly unreasonable. 2. That supposing it true he could not avoid the circle by it. 3. That it was false and built on no other ground but a daring confidence.

1. The first I proved. 1. Because an Assent is hereby required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence; the Assent required being Infallible and the evidence only probable and prudential Motives. 2. Because hereby they must run into all the Absurdities they would seek to avoid, it being impossible to give a better account of Faith by the Infallibility of the Roman Church, than we can do without it; both sides acknowledging that those Motives of Credibility do hold for the Scriptures, which are by us denied to belong to their Church; and if faith as to the Scriptures be uncertain if it rely on them, much more must it be so as to the Churches Infallibility: If divine Faith as to the Scriptures can rest upon motives of Credibility, there can be no necessity of the Churches Infallibility to a divine faith; if it cannot, how come those motives to be a sufficient

sufficient ground for such a Faith as to the Church? For the Churches Infallibility being the reason as to them of believing the things contained in the Scripture, it ought to be believed with a faith equally divine with that whereby we are to believe the Scriptures which are the instrument of conveying the matters of Faith to us. Besides, this leaves every mans reason to be judge in the choice of his Religion; because every man must satisfy himself as to the credibility of those motives. And after all, this way of Resolving Faith by the Churches Infallibility, doth unsettle the very Foundations of Faith laid by Christ and his Apostles, who all supposed a rational certainty of the motives of Faith to be a sufficient Foundation for it; but the pretence of Infallibility doth overthrow the evidence of sense and reason, and put the whole tryal of the Truth of Christianity upon the pitiful proofs which they bring for the Church of *Romes* Infallibility. And when they have brought men to it they cannot assure them what that Church is, which they attribute this Infallibility to; who in that Church are the proper subjects of it; what kind of Infallibility it is; nor when the Church doth define Infallibly: so many things are to be believed without reason, both as the persons who are to define

fine

fine; and the manner of their definitions.

2. Supposing this way true, the Circle still remains: which I proved by three things.

1. From the nature of the faith they enquire for a resolution of, which is not humane but Divine Faith. For the Question was not, whether by another kind of Assent they could not escape the circle; but whether they could do it in the resolution of Divine Faith or not? Either then the Churches Infallibility is not to be believed with a Divine Faith, or there may be a Divine Faith without an Infallible Testimony, or this Divine Faith of the Churches Infallibility, must be built on the Scripture, and so the Circle returns. 2. From the persons whose faith is to be resolved; the way of resolving faith being a different thing from proving a matter of Faith to an Adversary; granting then that to those who deny the Churches Infallibility, but allow the Scriptures, they may prove the one by the other; yet this signifies nothing to the Resolution of their own Faith, which is the thing enquired after: and yet even in proving to Adversaries the Churches Infallibility from Scripture, they cannot avoid the Circle, when the Question returns about the sense of those places; for then they must run to the Church; because the Church which is Infallible hath delivered this to be the sense of them.

3. From

3. From the nature of that Infallibility which they attribute to the Church, which being not by immediate divine Revelation, but by a Supernatural Assistance promised in Scripture it is impossible to prove this Infallibility, but by first proving the truth of that Scripture wherein these promises are contained, and so the Circle still returns; for they believe the Scriptures Infallible because of the Churches Testimony, and they believe the Church Infallible because of the Promises of her Assistance recorded in Scripture.

3. It is false that there are the same motives of credibility as to the Churches Infallibility, which there were for the Infallibility of *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles: which *T.C.* therefore very wisely declined to prove, and only said it was sufficient to shew how he had escaped the Circle.

The Principles of the Guide in Controversies.
Guide in Contro.
disc. 3.
ch 10. Sect.
123.

§. 2. This is a brief account of that part of the Resolution of Faith which hath been since assaulted by two several Adversaries, but in different ways. The first of them is, *the Guide in Controversies*, who ingenuously confesseth *the Question about the Resolution of Faith upon their Principles to be intricate*; so any one might easily guess by the intricacy and obscurity of his answer to it. I shall endeavour to bring it to as much clearness as possibly

possibly I can; that I may the better represent the force and consequences of it. The substance of what he saith, may be reduced to these propositions.

1. *That the Church may be considered two ways.* 1. *As a Society already manifested by Divine Revelation (whether written or unwritten) to be infallibly assisted by the Holy Ghost.* 2. *As a Society of men whose Testimony is to be received upon prudential motives.* Sect. 126.

2. *That the Church being considered in the former of the two acceptations; the infallible authority and testimony thereof is not only an introductory into, but one of the articles of divine faith; and that so many as believe the Churches Infallibility in this sense, may safely resolve their divine faith of other articles of their belief into its delivering them as such.* Sect. 127.

3. *That whatever this Infallible Authority of the Church be, it is not necessary that every one for attaining a divine and saving faith, be infallibly certain of this Infallible Authority; or as he elsewhere expresseth it; that it is not necessary for divine faith, that it should always have an external rationally-infallible ground, or motive thereto (whether Church-authority or any other) on his part that so believes: or that he have some extrinsecal* Ibid. Sect. 135.

extrinsecal motive or proponent of which he is infallibly certain that it is infallible.

4. There are two sorts of faith to be resolved divine and humane, or infused and acquired; the one is always built upon divine Revelation, the other needs no more than prudential motives, or such as are sufficiently credible or morally infallible; on which an acquired or humane faith securely rests.

5. That there must be particular ultimate divine Revelation, (which may not be to all the same but to some one, to some another, viz. either Scripture, or Churches Testimony, or Apostolical Tradition or Miracles) beyond which he can resolve his divine faith no further, for proving or confirming which revelation, he can produce no other divine revelation, but there must end; unless a process be made in infinitum, or a running round.

6. Divine Faith as to such ultimate particular divine Revelation, cannot be grounded merely on Gods veracity, but that God hath said this particular thing which we believe (namely that the testimony of the Church, or Apostles, or Scriptures is true) which must either be grounded (that it may be the Foundation of a divine faith) on some other divine Revelation and so in infinitum, or else I must rest there with an immediate assent to it.

7. The

7. The internal efficient of all Divine faith is the power or Grace of the Holy Ghost illuminating the understanding, that the prime verity cannot lye in whatever thing it reveals; and also that the particular articles of our faith are its Revelations; and perswading and operating in the Will such a firm adherence unto these articles, as many times far exceeds that of any humane science or demonstrations. Sect. 146.

8. The ultimate resolution of a Christians divine faith, as to the extrinsecal prime motive, ground, reason or principle thereof, that equals in certainty the faith built upon it, can be no other than that particular divine Revelation which is first made known to him, or from which in building his faith he proceeds to the rest; as to the internal efficient, it is into the Grace of the Holy Spirit. Sect. 147.

9. The motives of credibility, or the rational evidence of the truth of Christianity do serve indeed antecedently for an introduction to, or (after it introduced) for a confirmative of this divine faith, i. e. to make it credible or acceptable to humane reason (my own or others) that this faith is true and no way liable to error; that I am assured in it by the holy and no seducing Spirit; but not to constitute it in the notion of faith divine, S. B. 148.

U

vine; because the faith so filed is supposed to rest always on an higher ground. viz. Revelation Divine.

sect. 153. 10. That the infallibility of the Church grounded on Divine Revelation and believed by a divine faith is a main ground and pillar of a Catholicks faith for any other articles thereof, that are established by the same Churches Definitions, where the Scriptures, or Tradition Apostolick are to him doubtful. Of which ground and assurance of such points (believed by Catholicks from the Churches infallible Authority) the Protestants faith is destitute.

Those
Principles
considered.

§. 3. These are the Principles upon which this Guide in Controversies undertakes to clear this intricate Question, and to free their resolution of faith from the danger of a circle; I have but two small things to object against this way. 1. That it gives up the cause in dispute. 2. That notwithstanding it doth not avoid the main difficulties.

¶ 1. That it gives up the cause in Dispute; which was whether the Infallible Testimony of the Church be the necessary Foundation of Divine Faith? for upon occasion of the supposed necessity of this Infallibility, the Question was first started; this Infallibility being asserted to be necessary by T. C. and was the

the thing I chiefly opposed in the discourse of the Resolution of Faith. Now this the Guide in Controversies freely yields to me, and consequently the main Foundation of Faith asserted by my Adversary is destroyed: as plainly appears by the third Proposition, wherein he affirms *that an external infallible proponent is not necessary to divine Faith*. But this he doth not barely affirm, but, he saith, it is copiously proved by many learned Catholicks: and to this purpose he cites *Cardinal Lugo* speaking of Divine Faith, who saith, *that the infallibility of the Church cannot be the first Ground of Divine Faith; because this Infallible Authority of the Church by Assistance of the Holy Ghost is it self an article of Divine Faith*. And experience tells us that all Children or adult persons first coming to the Faith, do not apprehend much less infallibly believe, this Infallible Authority in the Church before any other article of Faith. And in the Law of Nature and under the Law of Moses, the Churches proposition was not necessary in order to faith; but the instruction of Parents was sufficient in one, and the doctrine of Moses and the Prophets in the other, before their Prophecies were received by the Church. He cites *Estius* likewise speaking of this Divine and Salvificall faith, *that it is not ma-*

*Lugo de
virtute Fi-
dei disp. 1.
sect. 12.
P. 247.*

*Esti. in 3.
sent. 23. d.
sect. 13.*

Paul. Lay-
man. Theo-
log. moral.
2. L. IV. 1.
c. 5.

terial to faith what medium God makes use of to bestow this gift of Faith upon men: many having believed that knew nothing of the Churches infallibility. He cites Layman asserting that it often comes to pass, that other articles of our faith are explicitly believed before that of the Churches Infallibility; and withal this Infallibility of the Church, depends upon the promise of the Spirit; therefore men must first believe that there is a Spirit of God and consequently the holy Trinity. Further saith he, it is plain that the primitive Christians did believe with divine Faith, not for the Authority of the Church, which either was not founded yet (when St. Peter believed Christ to be the Son of the living God) or had not defined any doctrines of Faith. Again he denies the Churches Authority to be the formal principle or motive of Faith; and that for this very good reason, because this infallible Authority of the Church is one of the things to be believed. Nay he cites Pa. Knot himself in his reply to Chillingworth affirming Christians may have a true Infallible Divine Faith, of which faith they have only a fallible proponent, nor are infallibly certain thereof, i.e. as to the proponent. I now appeal to the indifferent reader whether the main thing contended for by me, viz. that the infallible Testimony of the Church

Knots an-
swer to
Chilling-
worth
p. 358.

Church is not necessary in order to Faith, be not here fully granted to me?

2. But yet the account of Faith here given is very far from clearing the chief difficulties of it, as will appear by these two things. 1. That this resolution of Divine Faith is very unsatisfactory in it self. 2. That it is liable to the absurdities which he seeks to avoid by it.

1. That the resolution of Divine Faith laid down by him is very unsatisfactory in it self: the principles of which are these. 1. That Divine Faith must rest upon Divine Revelation. 2. This Divine Revelation upon which faith is built is that which is first made known to the person, and from which he proceeds to other matters of faith. 3. This Divine Revelation is not one and the same to all, but to some the Authority of the Scriptures, to some the Authority of the Church, to some Apostolical Tradition. 4. Divine Faith must rest upon this Revelation with an immediate assent to it, without enquiring further, for if there be any further process there must be so *in infinitum* or a circle. 5. That the Holy Ghost doth illuminate the understanding of him that believes, both as to the veracity of God and the truth of his Revelation, and causes such a firm adherence of faith, as many times far exceeds that of any humane

humane Science or demonstrations. But in this way I can neither be satisfied, 1. What that particular divine Revelation is, which this divine Faith doth rest upon? Nor 2. How this Faith can equally rest in several persons upon several ways? Nor 3. How it can rest with an immediate assent upon any way? Nor 4. Wherein this way differs from resolving Faith into the Testimony of the Spirit?

Of particular divine Revelation as the ground of Faith.

§. 4. I cannot understand what that particular divine Revelation is into which as into its prime extrinsecal motive, Faith is here resolved? The thing enquired after is the reason of believing the truth of what God hath publicly revealed to mankind, as we say he hath done the Doctrines of Christianity; the ultimate resolution of divine Faith as to this I am told is that particular divine Revelation, which is first made known to a man: is this particular divine Revelation the same with Gods publick and general Revelation or distinct from it? If it be the same it can offer no reason for my Faith, unless the same thing may be proved by it self; if it be different, then God makes use of particular divine Revelations to men different from his publick, into which they are to resolve their Faith. Suppose then the Question be thus put, why do

do you believe that Christ shall come to judge the quick and the dead? The general Answer is, because God that cannot lie hath revealed it; but then the Question returns on what ground do you believe this Revelation to have been from God with such a divine Faith as must rest upon divine Revelation? For such you assert to be necessary. To this *the Guide in Controversies* Answers, *that the ultimate resolution of a Christians divine Faith is into that particular divine Revelation first made known to him.* What particular divine Revelation I beseech him is that, on which I ground the divine Faith of this Proposition, that the Doctrine of Scripture is Gods Revelation? For of that we enquire. It cannot be understood of the rational evidence of the truth of the divine Revelation; for that is asserted by him not to be a sufficient foundation for divine Faith, which must rest upon nothing short of divine Revelation: I would gladly be informed and directed by this *Guide in Controversies*, since I must believe Gods Revelation with a divine Faith, and this divine Faith must rest upon a divine Revelation; what that particular divine Revelation is on which I am to believe with divine Faith, the truth of Gods publick and general Revelation? I have endeavoured to find out what his meaning herein is, but I

confess I cannot: sometimes he seems to deny any resolution at all of this divine faith into any further principles, and quotes *Layman* with approbation, who saith, *that the formal reason of believing what God saith is his veracity; but that God hath revealed such things to us, cannot be any further resolved or proved by divine Faith.* In the next Section he saith, *That divine Faith doth not resolve into an extrinsecal, even morally infallible motive thereof either as the formal cause, or always as the applicative introductive or condition of this divine Faith.* From whence it follows, that this divine Faith may be where there is neither infallible nor prudential motive; *i. e.* it may be, where no account at all can be given of it; for all motives must be of one sort or other; and yet this divine Faith doth rest upon a particular divine Revelation, of which since no account can be given, it is unreasonable to expect it. But I will try yet further by an Instance of his own. The Question put by him is, why he believes the things contained in the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, to be divinely revealed; he Answers, *That he resolves his Faith of the truth of those contents not into the Churches saying they are true, a'though he believe all that true the Church saith, but into divine Revelation; because God by his Evangelist delivereth*

delivereth them for truth: Again he saith, When he believes that all contained in St. Matthew's Gospel is true, because the Church tells him it is so, and then believes that the Church telleth him true, because God hath revealed in some part of his Word, that the Church in this shall not erre; here his Faith he saith, is ultimately resolved again, not into the Churches Authority, but the divine Revelation concerning the Church. This looks like something at first hearing, if one do not press too far in the examination of it; but being thoroughly searched into, how profound soever it may seem, it is scarce tolerable sense upon his own principles. For it is agreed now on all hands that in the Question of the resolution of Faith, the enquiry is not why we believe what God reveals, but why we believe this to be a divine Revelation; and the Question is now put particularly concerning the doctrine contained in St. Matthews Gospel: his principles are, That this must be believed by divine Faith, and that this Faith must rest upon divine Revelation; I now enquire upon what particular divine Revelation he doth build this act of divine Faith, that St. Matthew's Gospel contains the Word of God? He Answers, first, Though he believes it to be true because the Church saith it is so, yet his Faith is not resolved into the Churches Testimony,

Testimony, but into divine Revelation? What *divine Revelation* doth he mean? that which is in Question? viz. *That st. Matthew's Gospel is divine Revelation*: if so then he doth not believe it because the Church saith it; but if he doth believe it because of the Churches Testimony, then it cannot be on the account of Gods delivering it for truth by the Evangelist. For doth he believe it because the Evangelist saith so or not? If he doth, then he doth not believe it, because the Church saith it; if he doth not believe it because the Evangelist saith it, then he must believe it because the Church saith it, and so his Faith must be resolved into the Churches Testimony, which if it be a divine Faith, must according to his own principles suppose that the Churches Testimony is a divine Revelation, and the formal object of divine Faith. The same absurdity lies in the *other Answer*, *He believes, he saith, that all contained in St. Matthew's Gospel is true because the Church telleth him so; and then believes that the Church tells him true, because God hath revealed in some part of his Word, that the Church in this shall not erre.* And yet his Faith is not resolved into the Churches Authority but the divine Revelation concerning the Church. This Answer must be understood either of *St. Matthew's Gospel* be-

ing proved by some other part of Scripture,
 and then I grant the circle is avoided; but
 that doth not answer the present difficulty,
 which is concerning the ground of believing
 not some one part of divine Revelation, but
 the whole: Or else it must be understood of
 St. *Matthew's* Gospel being proved by some
 part of it self. And then he resolves his Faith
 thus. He believes what St. *Matthew's* Gos-
 pel saith concerning the Church, because he be-
 lieves St. *Matthew's* Gospel to be true; and be-
 lieves St. *Matthew's* Gospel to be true with a
 divine Faith, because the Church tells him so.
 Can any thing now be more plain than that, he
 must resolve his Faith into that Authority up-
 on which he believed St. *Matthew's* Gospel
 to be true, which himself confesseth to be
 that of the Church? Only if a man can be
 so foolish to believe first the truth of St. *Mat-
 thew's* Gospel, because the Church saith it,
 and at the same time believe the Church to
 say true, because St. *Matthew's* Gospel saith
 so, that mans Faith is to be resolved into no-
 thing but the dancing of Fairies, which have
 put him into such a circle that he can never
 find the way out of. But if he mean any
 thing else I know not what to impute such an
 absurd way of proceeding to; unless it be to
 a through intoxication of School Divinity,
 which confounds all true notions and distinct
 conceptions

conceptions of things, and makes men have such swimming brains, that all things turn round with them.

The resolution of divine Faith must agree to all.

§. 5. 2. But supposing I could understand what this particular divine Revelation meant, into which this divine Faith must be resolved, why may not one particular way serve all mankind for it? Must there be several and all equal foundations of divine Faith? I can easily satisfy my self of the reason of asserting it, but not of the reason of the thing in this way of resolving Faith. The true reason of asserting it was the plain evidence that many persons had a true divine Faith, without knowing any thing of the Church's Infallibility: this made some men in the Church of *Rome* confess that it was not always necessary; but least on the other side they should seem hereby to forego the *Palladium* of that Church, they do withall say, that sometimes Faith may begin there: and so run into the very same absurdities that the others do. For if one man can resolve his Faith well so, why not a hundred, why not a thousand, why not all Christians? If all cannot do it without running into a circle, neither can one; for the process of Faith is alike in all. Not that the same means are used to all persons; for it is evident that men believe upon different grounds; but what

what is absurd if a thousand do it, is equally absurd if but one do it. Although *the Guide in Controversies* doth not suppose it necessary for men to resolve their Faith into the Churches Infallibility; yet he doth suppose that some men may do it. Well then, we will put the case that any one person doth resolve his Faith concerning Gods Revelation into the Churches Infallibility as the ground of his divine Faith; I desire to be informed by *this worthy Guide*, whether he doth not run into the same absurdities, which all would do if they proceeded that way? *i. e.* whether it be any more possible for one to free himself from a circle than for all? Is not the reason assigned by *Canus* and *Layman*, and *Lugo* this *viz.* *because the Churches Infallibility is one of the things to be believed as revealed by God, and therefore cannot be the ground of Faith to any?* And will not this reason exclude any one person from doing it, that resolves his Faith as he ought to do? So that if this hold in any one, being drawn from the reason of the thing and not from the circumstances of persons, it must equally hold against all persons, and consequently no one person can reasonably establish his Faith as to Gods Revelation upon the Churches Infallibility.

Of imme-
diate As-
sent.

§.6.3. I am far from understanding this way of *immediate assent* to the divine Revelation. I grant the reason against proceeding further to be very good, for *the Guide* could see no passage that way, but over rocks and precipices: and therefore finds out a shorter cut by asserting an immediate assent to the Divine Revelation. But to what divine Revelation doth he mean? *The Authority of Scripture, Churches Infallibility, Apostolical Tradition* or any of these? It is all one to me, which it is, for it is equally unreasonable, to all or any of them. For I look upon Faith as an act of the mind, which must always have a reason moving it to assent. Even in self-evident Propositions where the assent is most immediate, yet there is the greatest and clearest reason for it, *viz.* the evidence of the thing, which makes the understanding never hesitate or doubt, but yield a firm assent upon the first apprehension, and proportionable to the reason and evidence of the thing, or of the motive enclining to assent, so is the readiness and firmness of it. But to assert an assent in Faith so immediate, of which no motive or reason can be assigned proportionable to it, is a thing repugnant to the nature of our reasonable faculties, and it is to make one of the noblest acts of our understanding a meer blind and brutish assent. All that

we enquire for, is a sufficient reason to move our minds to believe in the act of divine Faith; which is seen in all the acts of humane Faith. For no man can reasonably believe what another saith, or that he hath said so, but he is able to give an account of both of them. And it would be very strange that in the most weighty matters of Faith, on which mens eternal happiness and misery depend, they should be obliged to assent in such an immediate manner that they can have no good account to give of their divine Faith. *Yes, saith the Guide, an account may be given to make this assent appear prudent by the motives of credibility:* But that is not the thing we enquire for; but a sufficient foundation for divine Faith: and as to this he asserts, that our Faith doth immediately rest upon divine Revelation without proceeding to another Revelation for the ground of it. But how then can this divine Faith have a divine Revelation for its ground? It may have it for its material object, which comes not under our consideration; but only the formal object or motive of that Faith as to this Revelation. We will suppose the Churches Infallibility to be the matter believed, I demand a reason why this is to be believed? The Answer is, *because God hath revealed it in his Word;* there the Question returns what reason

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son have you to believe that to be the Word of God? Here *the Guide* cries out, *stand there*; if you proceed a step further you are lost. For if you say upon another Revelation, then that upon another, and so without end. But say I, you tell me I must believe this to be Gods Word with a divine Faith; and this divine Faith must rest upon a divine Revelation as its formal cause; assign me that, or you overthrow the nature of divine Faith; what divine Revelation is there for this Faith to rest upon? *None* say you, *but here it must stop*; if so, then it is certain by your own principles this either can be no divine Faith, or else divine Faith doth not always need a divine Revelation. So that this way of the resolution of Faith overthrows it self; and needs no other opposition but of one part to another.

Of the assistance of
the Holy
Gh:st.

§. 7. 4. It may be all this may be cleared by the Assistance of the Holy Ghost supplying the want of another Revelation, by its illuminating and confirming the mind. So the Tragedians of old call'd down the Gods upon the Stage, when they could extricate themselves by no other means. Not that I do in the least doubt the efficiency of the divine Spirit in the act and exercise of Faith; or that God by secret and unexpressible ways may strengthen

then and increase Grace in the hearts of men, which thereby become better assured of the things they believe. But the Question now is whether our Faith, as to the motive and reason of it can, or ought to be resolved into the illumination of the Holy Ghost? And in truth after all his turnings and windings *the Guide* sits down at last in the grossest way of resolving divine faith into the Testimony of the Holy Ghost. For he saith *that doth illuminate the understanding that the prime verity cannot lie in whatever thing it reveals, and also that the particular articles of our faith are its revelations.* Was ever any thing more fully said to this purpose by the highest Calvinists or Enthusiasts? Have the disputants of the *Church of Rome* hitherto charged them with a circle in this resolution of faith, equal with theirs between the Church and Scripture; and hath the very *Guide in Controversies* found no way to escape one whirlpool, but by falling into another? But since I see no reason to believe this *Guide in Controversies* to be infallible, any more than the Pope himself; I hope I may have leave to ask him some few Questions. Doth he in earnest believe that our assurance of Gods veracity and the truth of his revelations do flow from the immediate illumination of the Spirit of God?

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I would fain know then, 1. Why he troubles himself about any other resolution of faith? For by this way he resolves faith in all the parts of it. If you ask the first Question, why you believe that to be true which God reveals? The Answer is ready, *the Holy Ghost illuminates my mind in the belief of this*. If you again ask, why you believe these particular articles to be Gods revelations, the answer is already given, *the same Holy Ghost illuminates my mind in that too*. What need Church-Infallibility, Apostolical Tradition, motives of credibility, or any other way; the work is compleatly and effectually done without the assistance of any of them?

2. Is not this to tell unbelievers that we can give them no satisfaction as to the grounds of our divine faith? It is true, he grants something may be said for a dull kind of *humane and acquiste faith*, which others are capable of understanding; but for *divine faith* that depends upon such secret and private illuminations, which no person can at all judge of, but he that hath them; nor he very well, unless another revelation assures him, that these are the illuminations of Gods Spirit and not the deceptions of his own. Especially since it is a principle in the Roman Church that no man can attain any absolute certainty of Grace without a particular

lar Revelation from God. See then what a wilderness *this Guide* hath led us into ! We are to believe that what God hath revealed is true, and that he hath revealed these things, from the illumination of the Holy Ghost : but we cannot certainly know that we have such an illumination without another revelation to discover that ; and so we must run on without end or turn back again the same way we went , to believe illumination by revelation and revelation by illumination.

3. How he can possibly give himself any good account of his faith in this manner ? For since the fundamental principle of faith is the veracity of God, and the belief of Gods veracity is here attributed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost ; we may see how excellent *a Guide* this is, that thus stumbles in a plain way, or must of necessity go forward and backward. For I desire him to satisfy me according to this resolution of faith, in this Question ; why he doth believe whatsoever God saith is true ? his Answer is , *because the Holy Ghost by his inward illumination assured me so ;* But then I ask again, why he is assured of the truth of what the Holy Ghost enlightens him ? his Answer must be if he speaks at all to the purpose, *because the Holy Ghost is God and cannot speak any thing but truth.* So that the veracity

of God is proved by the Spirits Illumination, and the Spirits Illumination by Gods veracity. But there is yet another principle which faith stands upon, which is, that God hath revealed the things we believe; here again I ask why he believes these articles are Gods revelations, his answer is, *the Holy Ghost by enlightening my mind hath assured me of it.* But then I ask how he is sure with a divine faith, which in this case is necessary that there is a Holy Ghost and that this is the illumination of the Holy Ghost? Here he must return again to divine Revelation, wherein the promise of the Holy Ghost is made. Judge now, Reader, whether this be not an admirable *Guide in Controversies*; and whether he hath not given a very satisfactory account of the Resolution of Faith?

The absurdities of these principles.

§. 8. Besides that this way is thus unsatisfactory in it self, I have this further charge against it, that other ways are liable only to the single absurdities of their own particular opinions; but this blind Guide hoping to clear himself of one great absurdity, hath not only run into it the very way he seeks to escape it, but into many more besides. If there be any thing absurd in the *Calvinists* Resolution of Faith he hath taken in that; if there be any thing absurd in resolving faith by the Infallibility

Infallibility of the Church he is liable to that too; because though he doth not think it necessary he allows it to be good; and last of all that which he looks upon as the advantage of their faith above ours plungeth him unavoidably in as bad a circle as may be. And that is, *That the Infallibility of the Church being once believed by a divine Faith from the Revelation of it in Scripture it is a ground of faith to him in all controversies that arise concerning the sense of Scripture;* I am not now to examine the falseness of the pretence, (which hath been done already and may be more afterwards) that which at present I am to shew, is, that it is impossible for him in his resolution of Faith concerning the sense of Scripture to avoid the circle. Let us see how he attempts it, *Suppose I be* Scilicet. 151. *asked, saith he, concerning some article of faith defined by the Church, though the same article doth not appear to me clearly delivered in the Scriptures, why with a divine faith I believe it to be divine Revelation? I answer, because the Church which is revealed by the Scriptures to be perpetually assisted by the Holy Ghost, and to be infallible for ever in matters delivered by her, hath delivered it to me as such. If again why with a divine faith I believe these Scriptures in general or such a sense of those texts in particular, which are*

pretended to reveal the Churches infallibility to be divine Revelation? I answer as before, because Apostolical Tradition hath delivered them to be so: which Apostolical Tradition related or conveyed to me by the Church I believe with a divine faith by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, without having at all any further Divine Revelation, from which I should believe this Revelation to be divine. This is the utmost progress of divine faith with him. I know not how much faith there may be in this way, I am sure there is not the least shadow of reason. For if a stop be made at last by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, what need so much ado to come thither? Might not the same answer have served as well to the first and second Question as to the third? When you were asked why with a divine faith you believe such a sense of Scripture to be divine Revelation? Might not you have hindred all further proceeding by saying, I believe it with a divine faith by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, without having at all any further divine Revelation. But if you thought it necessary to assign another divine Revelation for the foundation of that faith, by the Churches Infallibility, why will not the same reason hold for the last act? which must have as good a Foundation as the other, or else
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how comes it to be a *divine faith* as well as the other? But the subtilty of all this is, you have it seems by your office of *Guide* the opening of the Gate, and you hold it open so long as to let through all your Friends, for Infallibility and Tradition must by any means be let through, and when these are passed, down falls the Gate in so rude a manner as is enough to cripple any other that endeavours to get passage. Can any man possibly assign a reason, why the operation of the Spirit should not have as great force, before the Churches Infallibility be let in? But this it is to be a *Guide in Controversies*, to direct Infallibility, Tradition and the Holy Ghost to know their distance and to keep their due places; and it is a great favour that the Holy Spirit is allowed to bring up the rear and to make all sure, but by no means to offer to go before Infallibility or Tradition. For these are capable of doing better service afterwards than the Holy Ghost is ever like to do them; the greatest use of it being to make good a Pass, that nothing follow to disturb the march of Infallibility and Tradition. But if I may be so bold once more to presume to ask this wonderful Guide; when the dispute is about the sense of Scripture, why he doth believe such a particular sense which doth not appear clear-

ly to him in Scriptures to be the infallible sense of it, or to be divine Revelation? His answer is, *because the Church which is revealed in Scriptures to be infallible hath delivered this to him as the sense of it.* Very well; this is an Answer I understand, though I see no reason for it. But I proceed, why do you believe this Infallibility to be the sense of those places which speak of the Church, since to me they are far from appearing to be clearly delivered in those Scriptures? Remember you believe this with divine faith, and this divine faith must have divine Revelation; the Question then is upon what divine Revelation do you believe the Infallibility of the Church to be promised in Scripture? He Answers, *upon Apostolical Tradition.* Is this Apostolical Tradition the same with the Scriptures or different from it? If the same what greater clearness can there be in this than in the Scriptures? If different, what divine Revelation is your faith of the Infallibility of that built upon? He ingenuously confesses *none at all, for then there must be a process in infinitum or a circle.* And yet his principle is that divine revelation is necessary to divine faith; but there can be none here by his own confession, without a process *in infinitum* or a circle; which is

to acknowledge the absurdity of his own way as far as a man can desire. Well, but how comes this Apostolical Tradition to be known to him? *By the Church* he saith; but may the Church be deceived in delivering Apostolical Traditions? *No*, he saith, *she is infallible*: but do you believe her infallible with divine faith? *Yes*, he saith *that must be done*: then at last there must be a divine Revelation again for this Infallibility, and so the circle returns. *No*, he saith, *at last, he believes the Churches Testimony infallible only with a humane and acquiste faith upon prudential motives*; but he believes the Apostolical Tradition related by the Church with a divine faith. Was there ever such a perplexed Guide in Controversies? The Infallibility of the Church is sometimes to be believed with a *divine faith* and sometimes not; and yet when it is not to be believed with a divine faith it is the Foundation of the divine faith of Apostolical Tradition; for he assigns no other ground or reason for it besides the Infallible Testimony of the Church. *But this infallibility* he saith *may be known two ways by promises of Scripture, or prudential motives*; not to dispute now the possibility of proving the Churches Infallibility by prudential motives; (which I shall do at large afterwards) the thing I now enquire after is, since
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the Apostolical Tradition must be believed by divine faith, and the belief of it comes by the Churches Infallibility; whether any other Infallibility can secure such a faith besides the Infallibility by Promise; for the Infallibility asserted being a security from error by divine Assistance, and that assistance only supposed to be promised in Scripture, there can be no other Infallibility here understood but that; which Infallibility by his own assertion must be believed by divine faith, which divine Faith must rest upon divine Revelation; and so he believes the sense of Scripture because of the Churches Infallibility, and the Churches Infallibility by Apostolical Tradition, and Apostolical Tradition by the Churches Infallibility, and the Churches Infallibility by the sense of Scripture. See now what an admirable *Guide in Controversies* we have met with! and with what skill and dexterity he hath escaped the circle. And so I take my leave of this GUIDE, finding nothing in him further material about Infallibility, which I have not answered in the foregoing Discourse. The Considerator urging so much the very same things, and frequently in the same words, that I now think he either was the same person, or made very bold with him.

CHAP. II.

The Principles of E. W. about the certainty of Divine Faith laid down and considered.

§. 1. **H**AVING met with so little satisfaction from the *Guide in Controverses*, I now betake my self to the *Rule*; no *Fancies, Toys, Trifles, or Fallible Glosses*, I assure you, for those *E. W.* cries out upon almost in every page of his worthy work; but *Reason and Religion, or The Certain Rule of Faith*. What can any man desire more? unless it be to see Mr. *Stillingsfleet* joyned in the Title-page with *Atheists, Heathens, Jews, Turks and all Sectaries*. And that he might own a greater obligation to him, than all that Rabble; he dispatches them all, after a fashion, in 30. pages, and spends above 600. upon him. O what a pestilent Heretick is this *Stillingsfleet*! that deserves so many lashes beyond *Atheists, Heathens,*

The Principles of *E. W.* laid down.

thens, Jews or Turks! If he had been any one of those, he might have been gently used, for never were they fairlier dealt with by any man that undertook them. But he is not so much their Friend to thank him for this kind usage: and *E.W.* thinks he will have enough to do to defend himself. I confess I think so too, if either of his Books against me, were to be thrown at my head; for they are very thick and as heavy as is possible. And to my great comfort, I never yet saw two such bulky books, whose substance might be brought into a less compass; for setting aside Tautologies and tedious repetitions, frequent excursions and impertinent digressions the pith and marrow of both his Books lies in this one word *Infallibility*. But it is time to fall to my business, for fear of more *Advertisements*; and *Infallibility* being the main design of his Books, that shall be the subject of my present debate with him. And because this *E.W.* is a great pretender to *Principles*; the method I shall proceed in shall be first to consider his *Principles*, and then to defend my own. For which I shall chiefly make use of his last Book, it being in effect but another edition of his former, the other as I suppose being disposed of to better purposes than to be read; for I never heard of one person in England that read it over. However, what there is material

material in it, different from the last, as to the present controversie, I shall upon occasion take notice of.

The two main Principles he builds upon are these.

1. That without an Infallible Church, there can be no certainty of Faith.

2. That the Roman-Catholick Church is this Infallible Church.

If he can prove these two, he shall not need any more to establish their Religion, or to overthrow ours. And I will say that for his praise that he hath brought the controversie into a narrow compass; for he confesses it is endless to dispute out of Scripture and Fathers, since witty men by their *fallible Glosses* can turn and winde them which way they please, but there is nothing so stiff and inflexible as a standing infallible Oracle in the Church, which being once believed all Controversie is at an end. But we may as soon hope to see all other controversies ended by dry blows, as this *Principle* proved to the satisfaction of any reasonable man.

The main proofs for the necessity of the Churches Infallibility, which he insists upon are these. 1. *That there can be no Divine Faith without it.* 2. *There can be no certainty as to the Canon, or edition, or sense of Scripture.* 3. *There can be as little certainty*

tainty as to the sense of the Fathers or the Primitive Church.

1. *That there can be no divine Faith without it.* This he frequently insists upon in both his Books; and with so much vehemency, as to *make the deniers of Infallibility to overthrow all Faith and Religion.* Which being a charge of the highest nature, ought to be made good by the clearest evidence. Whether that which *E. W.* produces, be so I shall leave any one to judge, when I have given an Account of his Principles as to this matter. In his first Book called *Protestancy without Principles*, he begins with this subject; and lays down these assertions, upon which all his Discourse is built.

1. *That Gods infallible Revelation requires an infallible Assent of Faith; or an infallible verity revealed to us forcibly requires an answerable and correspondent infallible assent of Faith in us: the contrary he calls wild Doctrine; this subjective infallibility, as he calls it, he offers very wisely to prove from those places of Scripture, which speak of the assurance which Christians had of the truth of their Religion.*

2. *This infallible assent of Faith doth require infallible Teachers; for infallible believers and infallible Teachers are correlatives.* And in the second Chapter, he goes about

about to prove it, because, if *Christs infallible Doctrines* be only fallibly taught, no man hath certainty what it is; and seeing what is fallible may be false, *Christs Doctrines* may not be taught at all; which is infallible and cannot be false; and he that should abjure this fallible Doctrines, doth not deny therein *Christs Doctrines*, and cannot be upon that account an Heretick. But to make Faith Infallible, he asserts, *That every Preacher sent by the infallible Church, as a member conjoynd with it, is infallible in his Teaching: and on the contrary, whosoever renounces an Infallible society cannot teach with certainty Christs infallible Doctrines.* From whence he saith, follows an utter ruine of *Christian Religion*. In his third Chapter he further proves, *That if the Church were fallible in her Teaching, God would oblige us to believe a falsity; because God commands men to hear the Church, and if the Church may erre, then men are obliged to believe a false Doctrines taught by her. And all other means short of this Infallibility would be insufficient for preserving Christian Religion in the world.* In the fourth Chapter he comes to a particular consideration of divine Faith, and from thence proves the necessity of infallibility. Faith, saith he, requires two things essentially, an object which

Disc. 1. c. 2.

p. 24, 27.

which is Gods Revelation, and a Proposition of this object; by Vertue of which the elicit act of Faith follows in a believer, and intellectually lays as it were hold, both on Gods Revelation and the thing revealed. Now to prove the necessity of such an infallible Proposition in order to divine Faith, he lays down some abstruse Propositions.

1. That Gods infallible Revelation awaits nothing in order to Faith, unless Christians by their Faith lay hold on the certainty thereof, or owne it as infallible and the assured ground of their Assent.

2. That the measure and degrees of certitude in the assent are according to those which the Proponent gives to the Revelation. If he teaches doubtfully, the assent is doubtful, if probably, the assent is probable, if infallibly, the assent is infallible: the reason which he gives of this, is, because an object revealed receives its light from the proposal, as an object of sight doth from the light of the air. As long therefore, saith he, as the infallibility of a Revelation stands remote from me, for want of an undoubted application made by an infallible proponent, it can no more transfuse certainty into Faith, than Fire at a great distance warm; that is, no more than if it were not certain in it self, or not at all in Being.

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3. From hence he saith, it follows that Protestants can only doubtfully guess at what they are to believe, and consequently never yet had nor can have Divine, certain and infallible Faith. Because they cannot propose Faith infallibly. Hence he proceeds Chapter fifth and sixth, to disprove Moral Certainty, as insufficient in order to Faith; and destroying, as he saith, The very being and essence of Divine and supernatural Faith; because the sole and adequate object of divine and supernatural Faith is Gods infinite veracity actually speaking to us; but this infinite veracity, (when it is duly proposed); transfuseth more certainty into the elicit act of Faith, than any Moral Certainty derived from inferiour motives can have. For all Moral Certainty is at least capable of falsity and may deceive us: Gods infallible veracity cannot be false nor deceive if Faith rest upon that Motive, and if it rest not there, it is no Faith at all. Nay he asserts; that supernatural Faith is more certain and infallible, than all the Metaphysical Sciences which nature can give us; For which he gives this plain reason, Because the infinite veracity of God which only supporteth Faith with greater force, energy, and necessity transfuseth into it, a supereminent infallibility, supereminent, he saith, and above all

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- the Certainty, which the principles of nature can afford.* This is the substance of *E. W.'s* principles of Faith in his first Book: which is somewhat more enlarged in the second.
- Dis. 2. c. 5.* In one Chapter he designs to prove *if the Roman Church be not infallible, there is no true Faith in the world*, the reason of which in his own easie terms is this, *For the meer possibility of deceiving Christians in one Article impossibilitates the Belief of all she proposeth.*
- Dis. 2. c. 14.* In another Chapter, *That she is not only infallible, but that the Adversaries of her infallibility destroy the very essence of Christian Religion.* And in the next, *That divine Faith in this present state of things necessarily requires a Church infallible, because the infallibility of faith necessarily requires not only an Infallible Revelation, but an infallible Proponent.* Ruine one or the other Infallibility, faith can be no more but an uncertain Assent and consequently can be no faith at all; This reason he diversifies into many shapes, and represents it in different words, but it comes in at every turn.
- c. 15.* So in the next Chapter he proves *the Catholick Church Gods infallible Oracle*, because infallibility once taken away, no man can have assurance so much as of one Christian verity; the reason is, no man can be assured of what is fallibly taught: because what is so taught,
- c. 16.*

taught, may by vertue of the Proposition be false, but a doctrine so far removed from infallible certainty. for want of a due application of its infallibility, comes not near to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, which was applied, taught and proposed infallibly: And in the same Chapter he saith, It is utterly impossible, that an infallible ve- c. 16 n. 14.
 rity as revealed, though fallibly proposed should have influence upon faith, or work in believers a most firm assent. Not long after, he asserts, That infallibility being ta- c. 18 n. 4.
 ken away, no man can tell, but that Christian Religion is a fiction; for these are his words. A feigned and fallible Religion are near Cousin Germans. The one is a Fiction, the other at least may be so, and for ought any man can know is no better: And in the same Chapter he saith, That without infallibility Re- N. 12.
 ligion is meer Scepticism: because all other means, infallibility being set aside, may be equally pleaded by Hereticks, (as Arians and such like,) as by any other. To the same purpose in the following Chapter, where he proposes that which he calls the last proof of c. 19. n. 3.
 the Churches Infallibility, which is still the very same over and over; (for he out-does the Cook of Brundisium in serving up the same meat in several dresses) viz. That the denial of it overthrows Christian Religi-

on; be pleased to observe his concise way of reasoning. If the infallibility of revealed doctrine be lost as it were in the way between God and us, If the Revelation appear not as it is in it self infallible, when we assent to it by faith, that is, if it be not infallibly conveyed and applied to all by an unerring proponent, as it subsists in its first cause, infinitely infallible, faith perishes, we are cast upon pure uncertainties, and may justly doubt whether such a doctrine, separated from that other Perfection of Infallibility be really true or no? In his third Discourse we meet with a convincing Argument, as he calls it, for Infallibility. If all Authority imaginable, whereupon faith can depend, conveyed or delivered these verities both as infallible Truths and infallibly, and I assent to the doctrine with a belief not infallible, but only morally certain, I leave by my fallible moral assent the true infallible teaching and conveying Oracles of Christian doctrine, and believe upon a meer phansied Authority, which was never impowered to convey Gods verities to any. Before I come to examine these things it will be necessary to lay down his notion of faith in his own terms, viz. That it essentially tends obscurely to its own object; (no matter for understanding it, but the words sound well

Dis. 3 c. 4.

N. 2.

c. 2. r. 1c.

well together) *and by this faith we lay hold upon the most supream and all comprehending infallibility proper to God alone.* But ^{N. 14.} withal we are to take notice of a twofold certitude in faith; *the one a certitude of Infallibility arising from the supernatural principles which concur to the very act of belief, and these being not liable to error can never operate, but when the divine Revelation really is, and implies not only the meer truth of the act, but moreover an infallible determination to Truth: the other a certitude of adhesion not grounded on evidence, but upon most prudent motives proposed to Reason, (which clearly discover'd) the Will by her pious affection commands and determines the intellectual faculties to assent indubitably.* ^{C. 10, 11.} After all which he concludes, that the plain and easie Resolution of Faith, *is into Gods veracity as speaking to men by an infallible Church.* Thus I have laid together so many parcels of *E. W's.* rambling discourse, as were necessary in order to the examination of it. And indeed I cannot compare his reasoning to any thing better than his own pretty notion of faith, for just as he saith, *Faith essentially tends obscurely to its object*, so his principles do to his conclusion.

But that I may proceed with the greater clearness, I must premise these two things,

Some
things pre-
mised to
the State of
the Que-
stion.

Rational
Account,
part 1. c. 7.
Sect. 1.

1. §. 2. That the Question is not concern-
ing the necessity of any *internal Assistance of*
divine Grace, but of an *external infallible*
Proponent in order to divine Faith. So that
whatever certainty of faith is derived from
the Spirit of God, is no ways pertinent to our
present debate. I do not deny that a truly
divine faith, doth suppose a divine and super-
natural assistance; I do not deny, that the
Holy Ghost may confirm mens minds to such
a degree of certainty, which may exceed the
rational grounds they are able to give to
others of their faith. But I say all this is
very far from the purpose. For I had ex-
pressly laid down this caution before, that our
Question in the Resolution of Faith, did not
relate to the workings of the divine Spirit on
our minds of which no satisfactory account
can be given to others; but to the external
motives and grounds of faith, whether they
must be infallible or not? To what purpose
is it then, for *E. W.* to talk of a *certitude*
of Infallibility, as he calls it, *arising from*
the supernatural principles which concur to
the very act of belief, and these not liable to
error, can never operate, but when the di-
vine Revelation really is? Granting all this
to be true; yet what doth this prove, concern-
ing the necessity of an *external infallible Pro-*
ponent such as the *Church* is? All that can
hence

hence follow is that those whom the Spirit of God enables to believe, cannot believe a falshood; but what then? Hath he proved that the supernatural principles of faith do never operate, but where the Church first infallibly proposes? No, this he never attempts, either not understanding what was fit to be proved, or knowing it impossible to be done. But if the infallible certainty of Faith doth depend upon inward illumination and divine concurrence; the Infallibility of Faith may be had without an external Infallible Propo-
nent. And so all his first principles signify nothing to his purpose, for supposing an Infallible assent of Faith necessary to an Infallible Revelation; yet that doth not prove the necessity of Infallible teachers, unless it can be had no other way. But here he tells us, *That Infallible certainty is derived from supernatural principles concurring to the act of Faith*; which he elsewhere calls, *The interior illustration of Grace imparted to a Soul*, which he saith, *is wholly necessary to make faith certain*; and after faith, *we come to an absolute certainty of Faith, upon this interior sacred Language of God*, or his internal illumination; the necessity of which he proves from Scripture and Fathers. But when he hath done all, he hath most effectually confuted himself; For if

Reason and
Religion,
Disc. 3 c. 9.
N. 4 p. 562.

N. 6. 7.

N. 9.

this inward illumination, can, as he saith, supply the inefficacy of external motives; How comes the Infallibility of an external proponent to be necessary in order to that certainty of Faith which may be obtained, by divine Grace making up what is wanting in the outward motives? Did ever any man shew more kindness to his Adversary in helping him with weapons to destroy himself than this E. W. doth? When after a most tedious endeavour to prove the necessity of an external Infallible Proponent in order to the certainty of Faith; he sets down these words, Now

N. 11.

what we assert in this particular, is, that the Infallible certainty of faith comes from this interior illumination, as it more lively sets forth the formal object assented to, or helps to a clearer proposal of the divine mysteries. Doth the Infallible certainty of Faith indeed come from this interior illumination? What then becomes of the necessity of an Infallible Church? We often hear of the great Assistance the Jesuits have in writing their Books; I should rather have thought some enemy of E. W's. had put in these things to overthrow all he had spent so many impertinent words about before. But lest such expressions should be thought to have dropt from him unawares, observe with what care he sums up the whole progress of Faith in this State.

First,

First, *A natural Proposition of the myste-* N. 12.
ries precedes ; this begets a natural apprehen-
son of their credibility ; after some considerati-
on there may arise an imperfect judgement of
credibility : but should the will offer as yet to
incline the mind to assent only upon what
appears hitherto , it could not move to a Faith
which is an assent super omnia or most cer-
tain. Therefore the illustration, or powerful
invitation of Grace (by which as I said the
object appears another way and more clearly)
is infused, whereof the soul is recipient. The
Will now after other Preparatives thus
strengthened a new commands boldly the under-
standing to Assent upon the safest Principles
imaginable, viz. upon Gods infallible Reve-
lation accompanied with his own Divine
Light, which makes faith to grow higher in
certainty, than all the reason or knowledge
in this life can arise to. For as S. Thomas
observes, humane knowledge derives its certi-
tude from mans natural Reason which may
err, but faith hath its infallibility, ex lu-
mine divinæ scientiæ, from the light of di-
vine wisdom which cannot deceive, and there-
fore is most certain.

Who, upon reading these words, would
 not have thought this *E. W.* more conversant
 in *Calvins Institutions* , than *Aquinas* his
Sums ? For in all this Resolution of Faith,
 how

how can a man edge in the necessity of an infallible Church in order to the certainty of Faith? I will not say *E.W.* was wholly inapprehensive of this snare he had brought himself into, but he takes the worst way imaginable to get out of it. For to shew the difference between this way and that of *Hereticks*, he makes the exterior humane proposition of Divine Revelation necessarily preceding the true light of Faith; which cannot be made but by one that makes the Proposition good by a Miracle, or some supernatural wonder; but no Protestant is able to do thus much. And is any Papist think we? I would withal my heart see some of the miracles wrought by their Preachers to convince me. I profess the greatest readiness of mind to be perswaded by them, in case they do but work such miracles as Christ and his Apostles did. But of this subject at large afterwards. At present it may suffice to take notice. 1. That no proposition of Faith is supposed sufficient by *E.W.* but where the PropONENT doth work Miracles: and therefore we may safely question the Churches Proposition till we see such Miracles wrought by her, as were by Christ and his Apostles. For thus, saith he, *Christ our Lord sent by his Eternal Father, thus the Apostles sent by Christ and the Church ever since (all shew*

N. 13, 14,

15.

N. 15.

ing wonders above the force of Nature) proved their mission ; and withal evinced that God only impowred them to teach as they did. And because the poor Protestant doth not pretend to miracles, therefore *the light he pretends to is a meer ignis fatuus vain and void of all reality.* I must say that of my Adversary, that he puts the controversie upon the fairest issue that can be desired. For if their Church work such miracles as Christ and his Apostles did to attest their divine commission, the evidence from thence to believe her infallibility ought to over rule the opinions of such who say she hath erred ; in case the doctrine attested by Christ and his Apostles and that of the Roman Church do not directly contradict each other. 2. Although this exterior Proponent prove himself so commissioned yet by the Progress of Faith laid down by *E.W.* this is not enough to beget an infallible certainty of Faith. For, he saith, *after the exterior proposition only a natural apprehension of their credibility succeeds ; then a judgement of credibility, then the inclination of the Will ; but yet no infallible certainty till the illustration of Divine Grace comes.* So that it evidently follows according to *E.W.* that an infallible Proponent cannot beget an infallible Assent of Faith ; but that doth arise from the inward illumination of the mind by
the

N. 16.

the Holy Ghost. Which I have already shew-
 ed doth lay men open to all the absurdities
 the highest *Calvinists* were charged with in re-
 solving Faith; and is withal impertinent to
 our dispute; which relates to the necessity of
 an external infallible Proponent in order to
 the Certainty of Faith. But surely the *Jesuits*
 are not so bereft of all their subtilty to com-
 ply with their greatest Adversaries without
 some advantage to be gained by it. Yes,
E. W. will shake hands with some old ene-
 mies, the better to assault some later Pro-
 testants, *who seem to attribute, he saith, no*
other certainty to the very act of Faith, than
what is Moral; which doctrine, he saith,
if it be defensible it's impossible to declare,
how Faith it self or the illustration previous,
can proceed from the Holy Ghost. For did
the Spirit of God work with a soul, when it
believes, the certainty of Faith, would with-
out all doubt, go beyond that assurance,
which is only humane, moral and fallible.
 I think that I escape well, that *E. W.* hath
 not transcribed a great part of *Bradwardin*
de Causâ Dei against me; for I plainly see,
 he takes me for an Absolute Free Willer,
 and a denier of the Grace of God. It is
 true indeed, I set aside the consideration of
 Divine Grace in this matter, but I assure him,
 not that I questioned the Truth or necessity

of it; but because it was not pertinent to this business. For to what purpose should we argue about that, which can only serve for the satisfaction of those which have it? and leaves men entangled in the same difficulties they object to others? But the Question was plainly put by me concerning the *outward inducements* to faith; *viz.* whether an infallible Testimony of the Church were necessary in order to it? or whether a certainty short of that, which I called Moral, were sufficient for Divine Faith? Not opposing this *Moral Certainty* to the *concurrence of Divine Grace*, but to an *external infallible Proponent*. I took it then for granted on both sides, that the Grace of Faith doth not come meerly from *our selves*, but that *it is the Gift of God*, that whereever God doth immediately concur he doth direct the mind to the belief of what is certainly True, that there might be unaccountable ways, whereby an inward certainty might be produced, and so firm an adherence to the Truth believed, which all the arguments and torments in the world could never shake, of which the Primitive Martyrs were undeniable Instances; But this internal perswasion could be made no matter of debate, nor any argument to convince another, any further than the effects of it did manifest that it came from God:

yet

yet withal I did not Question, but faith being an act of the mind of man which is rational and discursive, had sufficient grounds to proceed upon, and such which without any absurdity might justify mens belief to any prudent or considerative men, and to the severest enquiries of a mans own mind. Now concerning these Grounds the Question was put by me; taking in then the efficiency of Divine Grace, this is the true state of the Controversie, whether the spirit of God may not by moral arguments work in mens minds such a certain assent of Faith, as the Scripture requires for Salvation? or whether in order thereto, an Infallible Testimony of the Church be necessary? But because the inserting the operation of the Holy Ghost doth rather perplex the controversie, than explain it; since this was granted on both sides, I thought it better to leave it out and to manage the dispute as it ought to be only concerning the necessity of an infallible Testimony of the Church, which is asserted by my Adversaries, and denied by me.

2. The Question is not, concerning that Foundation of *Faith* whereby *we believe what God saith to be true*; but that, *whereby we believe this to be revealed by God*. For those two Propositions must be supposed to any particular act of Faith, viz. *that whatever God saith*

faith is true: and that God hath said this particular thing which I am bound to believe.

Concerning the first of these there is no dispute between us, for Gods veracity founded upon his Infinite Wisdom and Goodness is agreed to be the ultimate reason of our assent to whatsoever God reveals. Only *E. W.* to

uphold the *supernatural certainty of Faith* will not have the veracity of God to be the Foundation of Faith, as it is known by natural Reason; for if it were, faith he, Faith

would at last be resolved into one natural principle, thus, I believe God to be the highest verity imaginable, not because he saith so, but because I know this great Truth scientifically. Now, saith he, no science gives the last or least degree of intrinsic certitude to faith. This is profound reasoning: but which I dare say, no faith can be built upon. For either I must be convinced of Gods veracity by natural reason, from the consideration of the divine nature and attributes, or by Revelation from God, but if by Gods revelation, then see what an excellent way this

Scholastick Divine hath found for resolving Faith as to this Principle (for as it is a matter revealed it is an immediate object of faith) If you then ask him why he believes any thing to be true which is revealed by God, his answer is, because he believes Gods so-

pream

Protest.
without
Principles,
Disc. I. C. 5.
n. 10.

presume verity, or that he neither can nor will deceive : but if you ask him again why he believes this veracity of God, he answers, *because God hath revealed it.* And is not this a likely man to escape circles, that makes them where any common understanding would avoid them? But besides, supposing God had never discovered his own veracity in Scripture, I would fain know of *E. W.* whether there could have been any such thing as Divine Faith or no? if there could, then this principle of Gods veracity must have been the Foundation of divine faith as known by natural Reason. And supposing Gods veracity not to be embraced antecedently to a divine Revelation, it is impossible to suppose there should be any argument sufficient to persuade me to believe any Divine Revelation. For the greatest Miracles cannot convince me of Gods Truth, though they may of his Power; and they may persuade me to believe that God sent such men who work Miracles, but they cannot persuade me to believe that all they say is true. For if God can deceive men, he may employ men as his messengers and deceive the world by them: and if this opinion be rooted in a mans mind it is impossible he should yield a firm assent to any thing because it is revealed by God. But *E. W.* saith *Divines*

say so as he doth. I suppose he means *School Divines* and then I grant they do and a great many silly things besides, wrapt up under the name of subtilties. If any one hath a mind to try the truth of what I say, he need do no more than read their unintelligible subtilties about the nature and resolution of Faith: Which *Cardinal Lugo* himse'f complains of; and saith *they make the doctrine of the Schools hard and unintelligible*; and in this particular of believing Gods veracity on the account of Divine Revelation, he saith, *it carries men into an inexplicable circle.* Lugo de virtute Fidei Divinae Disp. 1. Sect. 7. n. 114. Suarez Sect. 6. n. 82. finding no better way to clear this difficulty runs to a *mystery* in it; and makes it a great part of the mysteriousness of faith, that although it doth not clearly see its object nor the things revealed, yet it receives it by its own light; and this act of faith, he saith is wholly supernatural, he might have said, unintelligible. But he gives an admirable reason for it, which is, *that this intrinsically follows from the nature of a divine testimony, as it is altogether infallible, and can oblige to believe those things which God speaks, as infallible, for in speaking any thing he thereby declares his own veracity in what he affirms; for by this means he induces men to believe the truth of what he saith and consequently his own veracity; a man being obliged to be-*

L

lieve

lieve the testimony infallible; and therefore from the intrinsecal nature of such an act of faith and such an object, it follows that the same testimony which suffices for the belief of the thing revealed, will likewise suffice to believe Gods infallible veracity in revealing.

This reason I grant is very well accommodated to the mysteriousness of Faith; but I do not know how it would satisfy any man that should doubt of Gods veracity in all his Revelations: which ought to be the more considered since in the foregoing section, he names some of their own Writers, who assert that there is no intrinsecal evil in a falsity, and therefore God may if he pleases, reveal one so as to oblige mankind to believe it. I would willingly know then how the obligation on our parts to believe what God saith, can satisfy any man of the infallible veracity of the revealer? For all that there is in this reason, is, that God cannot oblige men to believe a falsity, which it seems, some of their own Schoolmen would not yield to. But it is not enough, that God hath declared

Se: 7. 5 n. 9.

he never will do it? no: Suarez himself plainly refutes that by saying, that no man can be certain that God doth not make use of his absolute power in those declarations: and if he can tell a lie, he may not perform his own promise, and therefore Gods ordina-

ry power cannot serve the turn, since by his absolute power he can act against it. *Cardinal Lugo*, although he saw all the reason in the world to reject the former opinion of *Suarez*, yet he asserts, *That the assent to Gods veracity must be supernatural and elicited from the habit of infused faith*: which is not easie to understand, since they all make this supernatural infused Faith, to be an obscure inevident assent, and himself grants this to be an evident assent from natural reason: but how the same assent should be evident and inevident, is a Question fit to be debated among the Schoolmen.

§. 3. But all this perplexity and confusion among men of wit and subtilty arises from their false notion of *divine and supernatural faith*, which as *E. W.* most Scholastically speaks; *essentially tending obscurely to its object*, (like a blind man running at Tilt) it makes them so much afraid of the least crevice of light or evidence, lest the *meritoriousness* of it be utterly destroyed. For it infinitely obliges God in their opinion to believe without evidence. Therefore though a *humane and acquire faith*, such as Hereticks may have, may be grounded on substantial reason; yet this *supernatural and meritorious faith*, much like a Mole, works with-

Of the notion of Divine Faith.

out light, and expects the more wages for working in the dark. I confess this *essential obscurity of faith* suits very well with their Discourses about it; which as *E. W.* speaks, seems to have *transfused* its obscurity into their writings concerning it. But for us, to whom they will only allow a *humane faith*, I wish they would afford a little more *evidence* for what they say; and not overthrow the fundamental ground of all certainty of Faith, by deriving the perswasion of it from divine Revelation, and not from the natural conceptions we have of God. But I cannot but commend the Ingenuity of one of their late School-men, who yields *That the veracity of God as it is the foundation of faith must be known by natural light*; and to the objection, that divine Faith must then be resolved into a natural assent; he answers.

*Francisc.
bonæ Spei
To. 3 Tr. 1.
de fide.
disp. 1.
dub. 2.*

1. *That natural notices may be an inadequate formal object of faith.* 2. *That faith properly goes not beyond a Testimony; the other being rather an act of knowledge than faith.* It is all one to me, so the thing be granted, by what name men call it; That which I aim at is, that the veracity of God which is the foundation of our assent to what God reveals, must be received antecedently to divine Revelation. And so the principles of natural Religion must be supposed true, before

before it is possible for us to judge of revealed Religion; and among those principles we must allow of the veracity of God, without which we cannot imagine any *firm assent* to be given to *divine Revelation*: which is that I understand by the name of *Faith*. Wherein a divine Testimony being implied, that assent which I give to any thing as true upon the account thereof may be called *Divine Faith*; as that which I give to the Truth of a thing not upon knowledge, or experience, but the credit of another Person, is justly called humane faith, *i.e.* when it goes no farther than meer humane Testimony, but if that humane Testimony at last leads me to that which is divine, then the Faith must receive its denomination from that which it rests upon. As suppose some persons in *Persia* at the time of our Saviours being in *Judaea*, had been made acquainted with the Doctrine which he Preached and the holiness of his Life, while these persons received all only upon the credit of their Friends, we may call this a *humane faith*, but if they were fully satisfied afterwards of the mighty works which were done by him to attest his divine Commission on which account they believe him to be the true Messias, their faith might now more properly be called a *divine faith*, because it fixeth it self upon an immediate

Testimony of God. But then we are to consider,

1. That there is no fixed and determinate sense of a *divine faith* ; it being no term used in Scripture, but taken up by men to express thereby the difference between the assent we give to the Word of God, and to the Testimony of men. But then this Faith may be called *divine* either as it relates to the *material object*, or the *formal object*, or the *divine effects* of Faith ; that Faith may be said to be divine in one sense, which may not be in another. For a man may believe that which God reveals and upon the account of his Testimony, and yet that Faith may never operate effectually ; and so be no effect of divine Grace upon the mind of man. Therefore one of the great mistakes of the Schoolmen in this matter, hath been the making the belief upon a divine Testimony, to be the act of divine and supernatural Faith, which the Devils and *Judas* might have ; and excluding Faith built upon fallible grounds from being divine, which yet might effectually lead men to the obedience of Faith, and consequently was truly more divine than the other.

2. The same Faith in several respects may be called both *humane* and *divine*. *Humane* as it is first grounded upon the *Testimony* of
men,

men, and *Divine*, as it finally rests upon the *Testimony* of *God*. And in the present condition of mankind, it is not reasonable to suppose, that any Faith should now immediately rest upon the Divine Revelation, without some rational evidence antecedent to it. For the thing to be believed being the Testimony which God gave at the distance of above one thousand six hundred years, we must either suppose an immediate Revelation of it, or it must be conveyed to them by the credit of others. Which according to this notion can beget only a *humane faith*, for to resolve the belief of one Divine Testimony into another is to proceed without end; but this humane faith, if it be so called, satisfying a mans mind, concerning the Testimony which God gave, and thereupon assenting to what was delivered upon that Testimony, this Faith proceeding in the same way of rational evidence, becomes a divine Faith by resting upon the Testimony which God gave to those who declared his Will.

3. The Faith whereby we must first embrace a Divine Revelation cannot in this sense be called a Divine Faith, *i. e.* as divine Faith doth rely upon a *divine Testimony*. For that Faith is built upon those two Foundations, *viz. That whatever God saith is true, and that this is his Revelation*: Now neither

of these two can be entertained at first on the account of a Divine Testimony, the first I have shewed already cannot be without a circle, neither can the second, for still the Question will return on what account you believe that Testimony. So that although this be commonly called an act of divine Faith, yet if Faith be taken in this strict sense for believing upon a divine Testimony, we must find out some other name for this Assent; not thereby to take off from the certainty or excellency of it; but to prevent that confusion, which the not observing these things hath caused in these Controversies. And if the Terms of *Divine*, *Supernatural*, *Infallible*, *Obscure*, and *Inevident* were banished the *Schools*, the School-men themselves would be forced to speak sense in these matters. And it would be a pleasant sight to see how pitifully *E. W.*'s Discourses would look without them. For the main force of all he saith, lies in the misapplying those terms, and the rattling noise they make, is apt to keep in awe a vulgar understanding, especially that hath been bred up with some more than ordinary Reverence to these astonishing terms.

The true
State of the
Question.

§. 4. These things were necessary to be premised before we could come to the true State of the Question; which we now plainly

ly see/doth not relate to that Assent whereby we believe whatever God saith to be true; but to that, whereby we believe this particular Revelation contained in the Scriptures to be from God? And so the Controversie is brought to this issue, *Whether in order to the certainty of our faith concerning Gods Revelation an Infallible Testimony of the Church be necessary?* which he affirms, and I deny. For in order to the certainty of Faith, we have already seen, he frequently asserts *the necessity of an Infallible Oracle*; and makes all degrees of certainty short of *Infallibility* insufficient for Divine Faith.

But that we may the better understand his opinion, we must take notice of his own explanations of it, and the distinctions he thinks necessary for that end.

1. He distinguisheth between the judgement of credibility necessary to faith, and the act of faith it self; and the Resolution of these two though they have a due subordination to each other, yet depend upon quite different principles: the judgement of credibility, whereby the Will moves and commands the intellectual faculty to elicit faith, relies not upon that object which finally terminates faith it self, but upon extrinsecal motives which persuade and powerfully induce to believe *super omnia*.

Reason and Religion.
Discours. 3.
c. 1. n. 8.

2. He

Protest.
without
Principles
Disc. I. C. II.
n. 2.

2. He distinguisheth between the nature of Science and faith ; Science is worth nothing unless it prove, and faith purely considered as faith, (these words he desires may be well marked) is worthleß if it prove. For faith reasons not, nor asks how these mysteries can be, but simply believes : Or as he expresseth it in his former Book ; Faith solely relies on Gods revealed Testimony, without the mixture of reason for its motive. And here he asserts, That there is a more firm adhesion to the infallibility of that Divine Testimony for which we believe, than the extrinsecal motives inducing to believe either do or can draw from us.

v. 5.

3. He distinguisheth between the Humane and Divine Authority of the Church ; the Humane Authority, being as such fallible is not sufficient to ground divine faith. But the first act of faith whereby every one believes the Church to be Gods Oracle, is built upon her infallible divine Authority manifested by miracles and other signal marks of Truth. By the help of these distinctions we may better understand his Resolution of Faith, which he delivers in this manner. Demanded why we believe the mystery of the Incarnation, it is answered, Scripture asserts it. Ask again why we believe the Divinity of that Book called Scripture ? It is answered,

ed, the Church ascertains us of that. But how do we know that the Church herein delivers truth? It is answered if we speak of knowledge previous to faith: then he brings the motives of credibility, which make the Churches Infallibility so evidently credible, that we cannot if prudent and manifest reason guide us, but as firmly believe whatever this Oracle teaches, as the Israelites believed Moses and the Prophets. This one would think were enough of all conscience; but he thinks otherwise, for there is faith he, but one only difference and that advantageous to them, that in lieu of Moses they have an ample Church; innumerable multitudes in place of one servant of God, the incomparable greater Light, the pillar and Ground of Truth, the Catholick Church diffused the whole world over: and a little after asserts, That they have the very same way of Resolving faith which the Primitive Christians had in the time of Christ and his Apostles. Here is enough asserted, if it could be proved. N. 6, 7.

6. 5. Against this way, laid down by my first Adversary T. C. I objected these three things, 1. That it was unreasonable. 2. That it did not avoid the main difficulties. 3. That it was notoriously false; these three waies of My first Argument laid down and defended.

of attacking it, (of which a short account is given in the entrance of this Discourse,) I must now more largely defend.

I shewed this way to be unreasonable : and that upon these grounds,

1. Because an assent is hereby required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence; for the act of Faith being according to *E. W. an infallible assent*; and no other grounds assigned for it besides the motives of credibility; he must make an Infallible assent only upon fallible grounds. And it is not sufficient to say, that the Infallibility of the Churches Testimony makes the Assent Infallible; for Assent is not according to the objective certitude of things, but the evidence of them to our understanding. For is it possible to assent to the truth of a Demonstration in a demonstrative manner, because any Mathematician tells one the thing is demonstrable? For in that case the assent is not according to the evidence of the thing, but according to the opinion such a person hath of him, who tells him it is demonstrable. Nay supposing that Person Infallible in saying so, yet if the other hath no means to be Infallibly assured that he is so, his Assent is as doubtful as if he were not Infallible: Therefore supposing the Testimony of the Roman Church to be really Infallible, yet since the means of believing

believing it are but probable and prudential; the Assent cannot be according to the nature of the Testimony considered in it self, but according to the reasons which induce me to believe such a Testimony Infallible. And in all such cases, where I believe one thing for the sake of another, my Assent to the object believed is according to my Assent to the Medium on which I believe it. As our light is not according to the light in the body of the Sun, but that which presseth on our Organs of Sense. So that supposing their Churches Testimony to be Infallible in it self, if one may be deceived in judging whether it be Infallible or no, one may be deceived in such things which he believes on that supposed Infallibility. It being impossible, that the assent to the matters of faith, should rise higher, or stand firmer than the assent to the Testimony upon which those things are believed. But now to prove the Churches infallibility, they make use only of the motives of credibility, which themselves grant can be the foundation only of a fallible assent. This was the reason I then urged, I must now consider what *E. W.* saith in answer to it. And the force of his answer lies in these things.

1. *That all this proceeds from ignorance* Disc. 3. c. 2.
of the nature of faith, which Discourses n. 3, 4.
not like to science. For he grants that the
article

article of faith which concerns Gods Revelation cannot be proved by another believed article of faith wholly as obscure to us as that is, for that would proceed in infinitum; therefore all rational proofs avail to beget faith in any must of necessity be extrinsecal to belief, and lie as it were in another Region more clear yet less certain than the revealed mystery is, we assent to by faith. And so in that article of faith, the Church is Gods infallible Oracle, he saith, that antecedently to faith it cannot be proved by arguments as obscure and of the same Infallible certainty with faith, for then faith would be superfluous, or rather we should believe by a firm and infallible assent, before we do believe on the motive of Gods infallible Revelation, which is impossible. So that the extrinsecal motives of faith whereby the Churches Infallibility is proved independently on Scripture are not of the same certainty with supernatural faith it self, and only prove the evident credibility either of the Scripture or the Church.

2. That the force of this Argument will hold against our selves, and those who believed in the Apostles times, whose infallible assent of faith doth as much exceed all proportion or degree of evidence as theirs does in believing the Churches Infallibility on the motives of credibility.

In order to the giving a clear and distinct Answer, it will be necessary to enquire

1. What those acts of Faith are, we now Discourse of? 2. What influence the motives of credibility have upon them?

1. For the acts of Faith, there are two assigned by *E.W.* 1. That whereby men believe the Scripture to be the Word of God. 2. That whereby men believe the Church to be Infallible; both these he acknowledges are *Articles of faith, and to be believed with an Infallible assent*. But here mark the shuffling: the first of these cannot be believed, but by an Infallible Testimony, *viz. Of the Church*; for that end the Churches Infallibility is made necessary, that the Faith may be *divine and infallible, because divine faith can rest only upon Infallible Testimony*; but then in the other act of faith, whereby the Churches Infallibility is believed, we hear no more of this infallible Testimony; because then it is impossible to avoid the circle. I propose therefore this Dilemma to *E.W.* Either it is necessary to every act of divine Faith to have an Infallible Testimony, or it is not: if it be not necessary, then there is no necessity of asserting the Churches Infallibility in order to believing the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and so the cause is gained; if it be necessary, then the faith whereby the Churches

Churches Infallibility is believed, must have such a divine Testimony, and so either a process *in infinitum*, or a circle are unavoidable by him. If he considered this, and yet writ two such Books to prove the necessity of Infallibility in order to faith, he betrays too much insincerity for a man to deal with him; if he did not, he need not complain so much of others Ignorance, he may easily find enough nearer home. And therefore all the fault of these men does not lie barely in making the assent to be more certain than the motives of Faith; but in requiring so strictly in one act of Faith a proportionable certainty to the assent and not in another. For what is there I beseech *E. W.* in believing the Churches Infallibility, which should not make it as necessary for that to be supported by an infallible Testimony as that whereby we believe the Divine Revelation? *If faith hath no grounds and doth not Discourse as Science doth*, then I hope the case is alike in both: and so the necessity of an Infallible Testimony must be affirmed of the one, or equally denied in the other.

But he seems to assert, *That faith whatever object it respects doth not Discourse as Science doth; but solely relies on Gods revealed Testimony without the mixture of reason.* Grant this at present, but then I hope both
these

these acts of faith equally do so; and still the Churches infallibility cannot be made necessary to faith; for if faith immediately relies on Gods Testimony, what need any other to ascertain it? or any other proposition, than such as is sufficient to make known the object of faith, to which end no infallibility in the proponent is necessary. Any more than it is necessary for the act of love toward a desireable object, that he that shews a Beauty should be infallible in the description of her. If all the necessity of the Churches proposition be no more, *than to convey the Divine Testimony to us*, as E.W. sometimes implies, let him take pains to a little better purpose, in proving that such a *conditio applicans* as he calls it must have infallibility belonging to it. For Infallibility is then only necessary, when it is relied upon and is the ground of believing, and not where it is a meer condition of understanding. If a Prince sends an Ambassadour about a match to a foreign Princess, declaring that he will wholly rely upon his Testimony of her, in this case there needs the greatest judgement and veracity in the Person trusted; because the Prince resolves his judgement into his Ambassadors Testimony; but if he only employs a Person to bring her into the Room where he may see her and judge of her himself, in this case

A 3

there

Disc. 3 c. 4.
n. 18.

there is no necessity of any other quality than only obedience and fidelity. So we say as to the Church, if the Churches Testimony is to be relied upon as the Foundation of our belief of the Scriptures, then it is necessary the Church should be infallible if there can be no faith without such a Testimony; but if all the office of the Church be only to propose the object of faith to be viewed and considered by us, then a common veracity may be sufficient for it. And in this case I grant, faith is not to be resolved into the condition of applying the object of faith; any more than love is into the light whereby a man sees Beauty, or the burning of Fire into the laying near of the fuel: but if it be asserted that there can be no divine faith without an infallible Testimony, that, this Testimony is that of the Church, and therefore upon this infallible Testimony we must build our faith, he is blind that doth not see in this case that it must be resolved into this infallible testimony. And therefore *E.W.* very impertinently charges me with this constant error, *viz. making the motives of faith the Foundation of it, and that hereby I confound the judgement of credibility with the assent of faith; by making the infallible testimony of the Church to those who believe it, the formal object of faith.* For although the common motives

ib. n. 19.

motives of faith should do no more than make the object of faith appear evidently credible, and so the faith of such persons be resolved into a further reason than those motives; yet they who do believe upon the account of the infallibility of the Churches testimony, must resolve their faith into that, which to them is the only infallible and adequate Ground of Faith.

§. 6. 2. To lay open the Foundation of all these mistakes, about the nature of Faith. I shall inquire into the influence which the motives of credibility have upon believing. And therein give an account of these three things. 1. What the motives of credibility are? 2. How far they are necessary to faith? 3. What influence they have upon the assent of Faith?

Of the motives of credibility; and their influence on faith.

1. What these motives of credibility are? *Suarez* brings them under four heads.

1. From the qualities of the Christian doctrine and those are, 1. Its truth without any mixture of falshood; but faith he, if there be many things true and some false, it is a sufficient sign that doctrine is not from God, as it was among the Philosophers of old. The way to judge of this quality he thus laies down, those things which the Christian

Suarez de fide disp. 4. sect. 3.

stian Religion speaks of, which may be known by natural light are very agreeable to the common reason of mankind, those other things which are above it are not repugnant to any principle of it, but are agreeable to the infinite and incomprehensible Majesty of God. 2. The sanctity and purity of this doctrine, as appears by the excellency of the precepts of it; the moral precepts not only agreeable to the Law of nature, but tend much to the improvement of it; the spiritual precepts have nothing contrary to the rules of morality, and are suitable to the perfections of the Divine Nature. 3. The efficacy of it, which is seen by the strange and miraculous ways of its propagation, by such instruments as were never like to effect their design without a Divine Power.

2. The second Motive is, from the number of witnesses, of the whole Trinity at the Baptism of Christ, of Christ himself in his holy and innocent life, of *Moses* and the Prophets before him, of the Apostles after him, of the Devils themselves, of the multitude of Martyrs of all kinds suffering with so much patience and courage, and Christian Religion increasing by it.

3. From the Testimony God gave to the truth of it; by the Miracles which were wrought in confirmation of the Doctrine preached,

preached, in which ought to be considered the nature, the effects, the frequency, the manner of working them, and the end for which they were wrought, which must be not meerly for the benefit of the person on whom they are wrought, but for a testimony to the truth of the Doctrine delivered; otherwise he grants a Deceiver may work Miracles.

4. From the continuance of this Doctrine in the world, being so hard to believe the Doctrine and practice the precepts of it; meeting with such multitudes of enemies of all kinds; out of all which the credibility of the Christian Religion may be demonstrated, a Divine Providence being supposed to take care of the affairs of mankind. *Greg. de Valentia* reckons up these motives to 19. *Michael Medina* follows *Scotus* and makes 10. or 11. of them: on which he largely insists, viz. the fulfilling of Prophecies, the consent of Scriptures, their Authority and truth, the care and diligence of the first Christians in examining the Doctrine of Christianity, the excellency of it in all its parts, the propagation of it in the world, the Miracles wrought for the confirmation of it, the testimony of enemies, the justice of providence, and the destruction of its Adversaries. To the same purpose *Cardinal Lugo* and others of the

Greg. de Valentia
Tom. 3. disp.
1. q. 1.
punct. 4.
Medina de recta in Deum fide l. 2.

Lugo de fide
de disp. 5.
sect. 4.

Fancisc.
Va'ent.
Concordia
juris Ponti-
ficii cum
Cæsareo
part. 1. q. 1.
sect. 6.

Schoolmen make an enumeration of these motives of credibility; but a late *Jesuit* hath reduced them all to the four chief Attributes of God. His Wisdom, Goodness, Power and Providence, but enlarges upon them much in the same way that *Suarez* had done. Thus much may suffice for understanding what these motives of credibility are: which are acknowledged to make up a demonstration for the credibility of the Christian Religion

2. How far these are necessary to faith: for that we are to consider that faith being an assent of the rational faculty in man, must proceed upon such grounds as may justify that assent to be a rational act: which cannot be, unless sufficient reason appear to induce the mind to assent, which reason appearing is all one with the credibility of the object; which doth not imply here what may be believed either with or without reason, but what all circumstances considered ought to be believed by every prudent person. And in this sense *Suarez* asserts the necessity of the evidence of credibility to the act of faith: for, faith he, it is not enough, that the object of faith be proposed as revealed by God, but it is necessary that it be proposed with such circumstances, as make it appear prudently credible in that way it is proposed. For levity

*Suarez. de
Fide disp. 4.
sect. 2. n. 3.*

of judgement and rashness of assent he makes inconsistent with divine faith; and every man ought so to believe as to exclude all fear of the contrary, and so as that he can never prudently disbelieve what he now believes; but if a man believes upon bad grounds, he may afterwards prudently reject those grounds. But this is not all, for he makes such a proposition of the object of faith necessary, whereby it appears evidently credible as revealed by God, and consequently as certain N. 4. and infallible. For which he gives this reason; because an inclination of the will to assent must precede the assent of faith before which there must be a judgement determining that act of the will; this judgement must either be certain, or uncertain; if uncertain it is not sufficient for divine faith; if it be certain then there must be such an evidence of credibility in the object of faith. And although a practical certainty as to matters of humane faith may be sufficiently founded upon a judgement of probability, i. e. a man may judge it fit for him to believe where he sees only a greater probability on one side than of the other; yet in matters of divine faith a higher judgement than of meer probability is necessary, viz. that which is founded upon the evidence of credibility; for with a meer probability a prudent doubting is consistent,

which is not with divine faith, and without the certainty of faith is not merely practical but speculative, i.e. of the truth of the thing in it self, and therefore requires a speculative evidence of the credibility of the object. From whence he concludes, *that a bare credibility is not sufficient, but a greater credibility of the doctrine believed than of any other contrary to it*; for if two doctrines appear equally credible there can be only a doubtful assent given to one of them: and a man might choose which he would believe: but in the assent of faith it is not only necessary that there be a greater credibility of one doctrine than of the other; but that this be evident to natural reason: which dictates that in matters of Salvation that doctrine is to be believed which appears more evidently credible than any other. To the same purpose *Cardinal Lugo determines that the will cannot command a prudent assent of faith, where there precedes only a probable judgment of the credibility of the object, because there must be the apprehension of a certain obligation to believe, which must arise from the evidence of credibility in the object of faith.* And *Aquinas* himself had determined, *that no man would believe, unless he saw that the things were to be believed, either for the evidence of miracles or something of a like nature.*

N. 6.

N. 7.

Lugo de
virt. fidei
divina diff.
5. sect. 1.
n. 21.

Aquin. 2.2.
qa. 1. art. 4.

ture: which *Cajetan* interprets of *believing* Cajet. in
truly and vertuously: truly, i. e. without fear loc.
of the contrary, and vertuously, i. e. prudent-
ly. So that although men may rashly and
 indiscreetly believe things without sufficient
 evidence of their credibility, yet no man can
 by the acknowledgement of the most learned
 of the Schoolmen, yield a rational and pru-
 dent assent of faith without it.

3. The main thing is to consider what in-
 fluence the evidence of credibility hath upon
 the act of faith? For *E.W.* asserts *that all*
that results from thence is only a judgement
of credibility, but that the act of faith it
self relies wholly upon other principles; and
 by the help of the distinction of these two
 he labours to avoid the force of my argu-
 ments. Thus then the matter stands, it is
 agreed that faith must have rational proofs
 antecedent to it, but these proofs he must
 say do not perswade men to believe, or which
 is all one, have no influence upon the act
 of Faith. If all that were meant by this
 talk were only this, that we are then said
 properly to believe when we fix our assent up-
 on Gods testimony, but that all acts of the
 mind short of this may not properly be call-
 ed believing, but by some other name, this
 would presently appear to be a controversie
 about words, which I perfectly hate. But
 more

more must be understood by such men as *E. W.* or else they do not speak at all to the purpose; for the Question is, whether in requiring an infallible assent of faith to the Churches Infallibility upon motives confessedly fallible, an assent be not required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence. to this he answers, *that this argument proceeds upon ignorance of the nature of faith which doth not discourse as Science doth and he grants that the motives of credibility have not the same certainty that faith hath.* What then can hence follow, but that faith is an unreasonable assent, and hath no grounds or that it may be stronger than the grounds it proceeds upon? But if it appear, that faith must have grounds, and that the assent of faith can be no stronger than the grounds are then it follows that they are very unreasonable in requiring an infallible assent of faith to the Churches Infallibility barely upon the motives of credibility.

Of the
grounds of
faith.

§. 7. 1. That faith must have grounds. If a man had not to deal with persons who have confounded their own understanding with an appearance of subtilty, one would think this as needless a task as to prove that man is a reasonable creature; for if faith be an assent of the mind, taking it as strict

and properly as they please, it must have the nature of a rational act, which it cannot have unless it proceeds upon reasonable grounds. The grounds I grant are different in several assents, but it must always have some. Those which are accounted the most immediate assents have the clearest and most evident reason, such as the assents to first principles are, as that the whole is greater than the part. &c. and for conclusions drawn from them, the readiness and firmness of the assent is proportionable to the evidence of their connexion with those principles from whence they are drawn. In other things that depend upon the evidence of sense, the reason of our assent to the truth of them, is from the supposition of the truth of our faculties and that we are so framed as not to be imposed upon, in matters that are plainly and with due circumstances conveyed to our minds by our Organs of sense. But if there appear an evidence of reason overthrowing the certainty of sense, *Scepticism* immediately follows and the suspension of all assent to the truth of things conveyed by our senses; for no man can then be certain of any thing by the evidence of sense, but only of the *appearance* of things. I may be certain, that things do appear with such difference of colours, and tastes, and smells; but I cannot
be

be certain that there are really such differences in the things themselves. If therefore the *scepticks* arguments should prevail upon any mans mind so far, as to make him question whether sense be a certain *medium* to convey the truth of the things to his mind, it is impossible that man should yield a firm assent to the truth of any thing on the account of the evidence of sense. So that still, assent proceeds upon the grounds of reason which satisfy the mind, that all circumstances considered it ought not to suspend any longer. Let us now consider such things which are not so evident of themselves, nor conveyed by our senses; and unless we distrust all mankind we have reason to believe some things to be which we never saw our selves, and this is the fundamental ground of that we call believing; which is nothing else, but *taking truth upon trust*; or receiving a thing as true upon such testimony which I see no reason to question. If I see any reason to doubt either the skill or fidelity of those persons upon whose credit I am to rely; it is impossible for me firmly to believe upon their Authority; if I see none, then on that account I believe what they say; wherein it is as evident that my assent is according to the grounds I proceed upon, as that two and two make four. What is it then that hath thus

confounded

confounded these mens minds, to make them
 to contend that the act of divine faith is of
 such a nature that nothing like it is to be
 found in any other act of the mind? Must
 we cease to be men by being Christians?
 or where the strongest reason is most necessa-
 ry, must there be none at all? to what end then
 were there arguments ever used to persuade
 men to believe Christianity? were those ar-
 guments able to persuade men or not? if
 they were, then men did believe upon the
 strength of those arguments; and is it possi-
 ble for men to believe upon the strength of
 arguments and yet those arguments have no
 influence upon the act of faith? This is hor-
 rible nonsense and fit only for those to write
 who believe contradictions; for such an act
 of faith indeed can have no reason for it.
 But to come closer yet to our matter: *The
 Churches infallibility is to be believed*, faith
E.W. with divine faith; is there any ground
 for that act of faith, or not? If there be
 none, shew what obligation to believe there
 can be, where there is no ground for it: if
 there be, I desire to know, whether they are
 able to persuade me or not; if not, shew
 then why I ought to believe on insufficient
 grounds; if they be, may not I then believe
 upon those grounds? and if I do, doth not
 that act of faith rely upon those grounds?
 Besides,

Canus l. 2.
c. 8.
Lugo de
virt. fidei
disp. 1.
sect. 5.

Protest.
without
Principles
disc. 1. c. 11.
n. 2.
Reason and
Religion
disc. 3. c. 1.
n. 10.

Besides, of those who plead for the necessity of the Churches infallibility, I desire to know on what account they do it? Is it not, that faith may have a sufficient Foundation to be built upon, which in their opinion cannot be without such infallibility? and yet after all this, must not faith stand upon this ground? Why then are, *Scotus, Durand, Gabriel, Medina* and others charged by some of the Roman Church with *resolving faith into the Churches testimony*? What is this else but only to make the Churches Testimony the ground of faith? Nay, why are there any disputes at all about the formal object of faith? For the formal object is nothing but the reason of believing, and what account can be given of the reason of believing if there be none at all? But it may be all this while I mistake my profound Adversary, it being hardly possible that a man of common sense should write such stuff. To prevent any suspicion of this nature I shall lay down his assertions in his own words, from several places of his worthy works. *Faith solely relies on Gods revealed Testimony without the mixture of Reason for its Motive; the previous Motives well pondered bring with them an obligation to believe and not faith it self. For, Faith reasons not, but simply believes: Faith contrary to science*

goes beyond the certainty of all extrinsecal inducements. And afterwards, where he attempts to answer *the main difficulty*, as he calls it, in the resolution of faith, (which in short is, since the motives of credibility seem to leave the matter doubtful, what that is, which determines the assent to the objects of faith as infallibly true?) waving at present that answer, *that it is from the command of the will*, he seems to attribute so great an evidence to the Motives of credibility, that they do infallibly prove the truth of divine Revelation, there being an inseparable connexion between the Motives and divine Revelation; but then he starts an untoward objection, viz. that then the Revelation must appear evident and so faith would be evident; to which he answers by denying the consequence, because this assent is science and not faith; now this evidence arising from the motives of credibility, faith, saith he, as faith leaves, or lays aside, and firmly adheres to the Divine Revelation only for it self, as contradistinct both from the Moral evidence of the Motives, and their apparent connexion with the Revelation. The reason is taken, saith he, from the notion of faith, which essentially tends obscurely upon its own object, as the most ancient Fathers assert. From whence it is clear, if you believe him, that

no

N. 11.

D. 3. 10.
n. 7.

no evidence of the testimony assented to can move to faith, not only because we should in the case of evidence be necessitated to believe, but upon this account also, that the certitude of faith, taken from the supreamest verity, is of a higher strain and far surpasses all the certitude we find in nature, or in the Motives inducing to believe. But which is more pleasant he yet adds, *It is true, the more evident these motives appear the better they induce to believe, yet for that reason have less to do with the very act of faith, which as he said, rests upon and lays claim to no lower a verity, than the most pure and supream only, and if it rests not here, it is no faith.* And yet after all this he asserts, *that the evidence of credibility apparent in those manifest signs and marks which illustrate true Christianity is abundantly sufficient to induce the most obdurate heart in the world to believe with such an Assent as suits Gods great Majesty, i. e. with a faith most firm and infallible.* Here we have Motives, such Motives as give evidence of divine Revelation, such motives as are sufficient to induce the most obdurate person to an infallible assent of faith; and yet after all this evidence by these motives in order to believing; this believing hath nothing to do with them, and the more they induce to believe, the less influence

fluence they have upon faith, for that fixeth on the divine Revelation solely for it self, and hath a certainty beyond that of the greatest arguments that are used for believing. He that hath the faculty of understanding these things ought to oblige mankind with a clearer discovery of them, than *E. W.* hath made; who doth not seem to understand what he writes himself and therefore it cannot be expected that others should. But the Foundation of all this Nonsense, is a strange apprehension of the nature of *faith*, which the School-doctrine hath so rivited into him, that it seems to be of the nature of a first principle with him, which must be supposed as the Basis of all his discourse; which is, that *faith is an obscure and inevident assent, or that it essentially tends obscurely to its object*, and therefore no motives, or arguments how clear or strong soever can have any influence upon faith. For he imagines as great an opposition between *arguments* and *faith* as between light and darkness; he first conceives faith to be a kind of deep Dungeon of the soul full of darkness and obscurity; and then bids men have a care of bringing any light into it, for if they do, it ceaseth to be what he described it. A light may serve a man very well to shew him the way to this Dungeon, nay it may direct him to the

very door; but then farewell to all light, not the least crevice must be left to let in any to the mind that is once entred it; but the excellency of it is, that the soul fixes more certainly on its object in this state of darkness, than it could do being environed with the clearest light. Just as if a man should say there is a particular way of *seeing* with *ones eyes shut*, which is far more admirable and excellent, than all the common ways of beholding things; being far more certain and piercing than seeing by the help of eyes and light is; for the light and sight may both fail in the representation of an object; but this seeing without eyes is an infallible way to prevent all the fallacies of sense. Much in this way doth *E. W.* talk; for all arguments are fallible, and therefore by no means must faith proceed upon them; O but this believing *without*, or *above*, or it may be *against arguments*, is the most infallible thing in the world; for that man need never fear being deceived with reason that disowns the use of it. Upon these grounds a skilful Painter may make a shift to bungle and to draw some rude uneven strokes by the help of his Pencil and a good light; but if he would be sure not to miss making an excellent Piece he ought to shut his eyes or darken his Room, for then to be sure that fallible thing called light

light can never deceive him. An indifferent person that only consulted the nature and reason of things could never have fallen into these dotages; but it hath been the interest of some men to cry down *light* that have had *false wares* to put off. But of all things I wonder if this be the whole nature of Christian faith to believe no man knows why nor wherefore, (for if he doth, his faith ceases to be faith being built upon reason) why all this ado is kept about an infallible Church and motives of credibility? cannot a man believe without reason at first as well at last? cannot faith fix upon Gods Revelation for it self, without troubling those motives of credibility to no purpose? If a man hath a mind to leap blindfold from a Precipice, why cannot he do it without so much ceremony? must he have all his attendance about him, and his Gentleman-usher to conduct him to the very brink of the Rock, and there bid him Goodnight? If all these motives of credibility contribute nothing to the act of believing, what use are they of in such a Religion, where Faith is look'd on as the great Principle of practice and the means of salvation? If the judgement of credibility would save men, they might still be useful; but this will be by no means allowed, for nothing in their opinion, but this *blind Guide*

(which they call faith) can conduct men to Heaven.

Of the
Scripture-
notion of
the obscu-
rity of
faith.

Heb. 11. 1.

§. 8. But what is it that hath made men so in love with nonsense and contradictions? Hath the Scripture given any countenance to this notion of faith? Yes doubtless; they are such lovers of Scripture, that they dare not take up any opinion in these matters without plain Scripture. Then I hope Scripture may be plain in clear things, if it be so in the description of so obscure a thing as they make faith to be. But doth not the Scripture say, *that Faith is the Substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen? and is not this all one as if it had been said that faith essentially tends obscurely to its object, and that it is an inevident assent and therefore cannot make use of arguments?* This I know is all the pretence they have for this notion of faith; but is it not very pretty, because faith is called *an evidence* therefore it must be *inevident*, or to follow the vulgar Latine because it is called an *argument* therefore it can use *none*? No man is so senseless to deny, that we believe things we do not see, and things which cannot be seen; we believe some things which might have been seen, and were seen by some whose credit we rely upon; as the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ:

we

we believe other things which are incapable of being seen by our senses, as the Joys of Heaven and the Torments of Hell; and as to such things faith supplies the want of the Evidence of sense to us; and by it our minds are assured of the truth of them though we do not or cannot see them. Which is all that is intended by this description of faith; but how doth it hence follow that our faith must be an *immediate, inevident, obscure assent*, on which all the arguments that persuade men to believe, can have no influence? May not I believe that Christ died and rose again, and will come to judge the quick and the dead, because I see all the reason in the world to persuade me to believe it, from the testimony of those who saw him and have delivered his doctrine to us, and have given the greatest evidence of their fidelity? Doth the strength of the argument hinder me at all from believing what I did not see? I had rather thought the more obscure the object had been, (for it is little better than nonsense to call *an act of faith obscure*), the greater necessity there had been of strong evidence to persuade a man to believe; not such evidence as doth arise from the nature of the thing, for that is contrary to the obscurity of the object, but such as gives the greatest reason to believe from the Authority of those on whose Testi-

mony I rely. So that the greatest clearness and evidence as to the Testimony is not repugnant to the nature of Faith; this only shews that in Christian Religion we do not proceed by meer evidence of sense or rigorous demonstrations in the things we assent to; but that the great things we believe are remote from sense and received upon the Authority of the Revealer; yet so, as that we assert we have as great evidence that these things were revealed by God, as the matter was capable of; and such evidence we say ought to perswade any prudent person. This is all which the description of faith so much alledged doth imply; which was never intended for an accurate definition of it; for as *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith of it, *non indicat quid est fides, sed signat quid facit*; it doth not shew what faith is, but what it doth; by making things future and invisible to have as great power and influence on mens minds as if they were present and visible. And when the *Fathers* speak of the obscurity of Faith, they do not mean an assent without grounds, but the belief of things out of our view; and that obscurity is understood by them in comparison with the clearness of a future state: or in opposition to the way of proving things by meer reason without Revelation. So *Cardinal Lugo* truly answers the Testimonies

Testimonies of Fathers to that purpose, by ^{Lugo de} saying *that when they exclude reason and ar-* ^{virtut. fid.} ^{Divin. disp.} ^{7. sect. 2.} ^{n. 16.} *guments from faith they take them as they are* *opposed to Authority; but in as much as they* *suppose the mysteries of Christian faith to be* *believed for the sake of Divine Revelation,* *a discourse is thereby implied from the Autho-* *rity of God revealing to the mysteries belie-* *ved.* Neither is such *discourse* only requisite, but that in the first place which doth assure men of the truth of this Revelation; for upon that, the other must proceed. All *medi-* *ums* used for the proof of this, must be extrinsecal to the nature of the thing, and therefore cannot be repugnant to faith; and in this I have the consent of some of the most learned of the Schoolmen, who make *evidentiam in attestante* as they call it, consistent with faith.

But faith *E. W.* *No thanks to thee poor crea-* ^{Disc. 3. c. 8.} ^{n. 16.} *ture, to assent hadst thou Evidence.* This it is now to hope to merit at Gods hands by a blind faith! for so elsewhere, he saith, *evi-* ^{c. 10. n. 5.} *dence is incompatible with that merit and obsequiousness of faith; which God requires of his rational creatures who are to walk to Heaven by an humble and dutiful faith.* A very humble faith certainly that hopes to merit by believing! And very dutiful in expecting so large a reward for doing it knows not

what ! We think it our duty to believe firmly whatever God saith ; but withal we think it our duty to enquire carefully whether God hath said it or no before we believe : and according to the evidence we have of this we assent to the former. *But this is not to proceed Nobly with God*, saith *E. W.* Brave man ! It hath been reported of a *Hero* in this Town that a little before his death he said *he hoped God would deal with him like a Gentleman* : It seems *E. W.* would deal so with God. We have often heard of works of super-erogation ; but our noble *E. W.* is not content with them, he will have a *faith of super-erogation* too. We poor creatures, are contented to do our duties, and take it as a great Favour, for God to accept of the best we can do : We dare not so much as think of such terms of kindness and favour from us to God, as *to proceed Nobly with him*. Neither do we believe, that God is so hugely pleased with the blind and the lame, when they are offered in sacrifice to him. Whatever *E. W.* imagines, it is no such *Noble proceeding* to believe infallibly upon confessedly fallible grounds. For that is the present case, he grants that the motives of credibility are not infallible, and that there are no other motives in order to faith above these, and yet he supposes we ought to oblige

God by giving an infallible assent upon these Motives. But the bottom of all is *That our Faith ought to be suitable to Gods infallible veracity, which Faith immediately rests upon and from whence and not from the motives, infallible certainty as E. W. speaks, is transfused into it.* This deep speculation by no means satisfies me ; for though I know it to be impossible for God to lie or to deceive ; yet our question is not about believing the truth of what God saith, but about believing this or that to be revealed by him. And while the Question is whether Gods veracity be concerned in the thing, how is it possible for his *Veracity to transfuse an Infallible Certainty into my Belief of it ?* Suppose E. W. be acquainted with as honest a man as ever lived, and one comes and tells him from him that such a Friend of his was dead, and gave him five hundred pound ; I would fain know whether the unquestionable veracity of the Friend, from whom the Messenger saith he received it, can transfuse an unquestionable certainty in his mind of the truth of the thing, while he is yet in doubt whether his faithful Friend said it or no ? If his assent here be not according to the veracity of his Friend, unless he be first assured of the fidelity of the reporter ; No more can it be in the present case of believing. For no
one

one questions what God saith, but our only doubt is whether God hath said it; and while one gives no infallible assent to the one, he cannot infallibly rest upon the other. *But may not credible arguments as to the Messenger be sufficient for infallible belief of the thing upon the Authority of the other?* For that, I appeal to *E. W.* whether his belief of the thing would not in that case be according to the grounds he had to believe the Messenger: and the Authority of his Friend would make him so much the more Question whether his name might not be abused by a Person that had a design to put a trick upon him; especially if that Messenger challenged to himself so much credit that he ought to be believed without any dispute at a'l. For in this case, the over eager affirming would give a man cause to question the more the truth of the person, if his evidence bear no proportion with his confidence. So it is in our present case: it is granted on ail sides, if God reveals any thing it must be true: our enquiry is how far we are to believe that God hath said such a thing upon the credit of those who convey it to us; if they desire no more credit with us than they give sufficient evidence for, then we are bound to believe them; but if they exact an infallible assent and offer only fallible grounds we have reason to mistrust their design;

and so long as we do so, we must question the thing which we are to believe upon their credit. If they require only an assent to their evidence it would be unreasonable to deny it, but still the degree of our assent to the Revelation is proportionable to the degree of evidence that it is a divine Revelation. Which Dr. Holden thinks to be so evident, that he accounts it lost labour for a man to go about to prove it to any one that hath common sense: viz. *That no assent of divine truth can have any greater true and rational certainty, than the assent of the medium by which the object of Faith is applied to the understanding. For whatever certainty we can attribute to an intellectual assent upon the Authority of God revealing it is necessary it should come from and depend upon the certainty of the medium, by which this Authority of God revealing is conveyed to the understanding. For as it is impossible that a man should believe or yield assent to any thing because it is revealed by God, unless he thinks and knows that God hath revealed it; so it is impossible that he should believe the things revealed by God with greater true and rational certainty, than that by which he knows that God revealed them. For whatever degree of uncertainty or doubt there is in the mind of a believer*

Holden
Analyf.
fidei l. 1.
c. 3.

believer of the certainty and truth of the medium, there must be the same in that assent whereby he believes the things which are proposed by that medium. Because with what degree a man doubts whether God hath revealed this or that, he cannot but doubt in the same degree of that which is said to be revealed by God. For what man in his wits doth not presently perceive that no man can be more certain of that thing which God is said to reveal, than he is certain that God hath revealed it; as no man can be more certain of the things done by Cæsar, than they are that Cæsar was; or of the mysteries revealed by Christ, than that Christ was. This he saith he had never mentioned, unless some later Divines, (such as E. W.) discoursing vainly and Sceptically, and not considering the true reason of believing, had feigned to themselves he knew not what kind of divine and supernatural certainty in Christian Faith (passing by the true and rational) which it is clearer than noon day, is but an idle and imaginary thing. Good Reader, observe the power of reason over an ingenuous mind; I know not what entertainment Dr. H. might have given E. W. on other accounts; but it is plain by this Discourse he thought a dark Room the fittest for him, since he pronounces that no man in his

Sences

senses can assert the things which he confidently doth. Although therefore he thought this needless to be proved, yet I must proceed to shew,

§. 9. 2. That the Assent of Faith can be no stronger than the Grounds are. For if it doth proceed upon Grounds, those are of the nature of Premises and the assent of faith as the conclusion drawn from them, and therefore must be stronger or weaker according to them. In every act of Faith which hath a particular Revelation for its object; there must be two distinct premises conceived from whence that which is the proper act of believing follows. As suppose the Question be concerning the Resurrection of the dead, why I believe that article of Faith to be true, the present Answer is because God hath revealed it; but therein lies the force of a Syllogism, by which it will appear that the act of Faith follows as the conclusion from the premises. Whatsoever God reveals is true, but God hath revealed the Resurrection of the dead, therefore it is true. Now since the force of a conclusion depends upon the premises, the assent of Faith cannot be supposed stronger and firmer than the Premises are from which it results. For however it may hold in other causes; in those which are moral and final,

Of the power of the Will in the assent of Faith.

final, it is an undoubted Maxim of reason, *That which makes an other thing to be so, must be much more so it self*: As that end which makes any thing desirable for its sake, is much more desirable it self, because it is that which moves the Soul to desire the means; and so it is likewise in whatever moves the understanding to assent as well as the will to desire: but the Premises do move the understanding to assent to the conclusion, therefore the consent to the conclusion must be agreeable to that of the Premises. This difficulty hath so racked and tormented the minds of the Schoolmen, that *Arriaga* relates he hath heard the most Learned and Ingenious among them profess they could find no way through it. While they did require an infallible assent in the conclusion, when there could be no infallible assent to one of the Premises, viz. that God hath revealed this. Which some have thought they got over when they asserted the necessity of the Churches Infallibility, as the foundation of that assent. But granting them the truth of that, yet they have given the difficulty but one remove by it, for it speedily returns again concerning the belief of the Churches Infallibility, which they agree must be believed infallibly, and yet here again they offer at no more than motives confessed to be fallible to prove

Arriaga
Curs Philo.
disp. 16.
Sect. 4.

prove it. And so at last they are fain to take
 up with other Answers, which make the
 Churches Infallible Proposition of no use at
 all in this matter: for if the assent be said to
 be *immediate to the Revelation*, if the
 strength of it arises either from *the Spirit of*
God, or the *pious inclination of the Will*,
 and not from the motives of Faith, if any of
 these waies can solve the difficulty; then
 however from hence it follows that all these
 will equally do it without ever so much as sup-
 posing the *necessity of the Churches infalli-*
ble Testimony. I shall not now trouble my
 self with others, but consider my Adversary
 who after making several attempts this way
 and that, at last bethinks of a good Friend in a
 corner, called *the Power of the Will*, and to
 this he is willing to attribute the strength of
 the assent, when it exceeds the motives of
 Faith: which he thinks the more plain and
 easie way; and therefore asserts that after the
 previous judgement of credibility, the Will
 works by her pious affection, and that moves
 the understanding to elicit the infallible as-
 sent of Faith. For saith he, if it be de-
 manded how the understanding dares rest
 most firmly on an object not evidently seen,
 we pass from that Power to the Will and say,
 he can by her pious affection command the
 intellectual faculty to captivate it self in
 Obsequium

Disc. 3. c. 8.
 14, 15,
 16.

c. 9. n. 5.

c. 10. n. 10.

Obsequium fidei *and believe most undoubtedly.* This is the last Reserve in this matter, which is as weak as any of the former. For if the Will can determine the understanding to assent beyond the strength of the motives, it may determine it to assent without any motives at all; because that degree of assent which doth exceed the evidence of the motives hath nothing to incline or move it besides the meer power of the Will: and if it can command the highest and most Infallible assent without Infallible grounds it may equally command a fallible assent without fallible grounds, and by this means there will be no need of any motives of credibility at all. Besides, this takes away any such thing as the formal object of divine Faith; for if the Infallible assent of Faith do come from the power of the Will; then to what purpose is any formal object of that assent enquired after? For the formal object doth assign a reason of believing from the object it self, of which there can be none if the Will by her own Power elicit that which is the proper assent of Faith. And all other material objects of Faith may be believed in as infallible a manner by the same power of the Will. But if the Will can command the understanding to assent beyond the degree of evidence; why may not the understanding dictate

dictate to the Will to desire a thing beyond the degree of goodness appearing to it ; and by this means both those faculties would tend to their objects in a way disagreeing to their nature.

All these ways being found in sufficient ; *Cardinal Lugo* saith *some had recourse at last to a mysterious elevation of the understanding, beyond all connatural ways of its operation, whereby it lays hold on the matters of Faith in a way wholly inexplicable ;* and however the *Cardinal* slights this way, and expresseth a great detestation of it, *as that which renders the matters of Faith incredible and imperceptible ;* yet I think it absolutely the best for those of the Roman Church that hath yet been thought of ; and I would particularly commend it to *E. W.* who loves to talk so unintelligibly and confusedly, as if he had this habit of believing infused already.

And thus much in vindication of the first argument, I proposed against making the Infallible Testimony of the Church the foundation of Faith, and yet that Infallibility to be only proved by the motives of credibility, *viz.* that hereby an infallible assent must be built upon fallible grounds. As to what *E. W.* saith by way of recrimination it shall be answered, when I come to defend our own grounds of Faith.

*Lugo de
fide disp. 1.
Sect. 4. 38.*

Rational
Account
part 1. c. 5.
Sect. 6.
The second
Argument
defended
against
H. W.

§. 10. The next Argument, which affords any new matter to my Adversary, whereby I shewed this way of resolving Faith to be unreasonable was, because by making the Infalible Testimony of the Church necessary to Faith, they make that necessary to Faith, which was not made so by Christ or his Apostles. What then, say I, will become of the Faith of all those who received Divine Revelations, without the Infalible Testimony of any Church at all? With what Faith did the Disciples of Christ at the time of his suffering, believe the Divine Authority of the Old Testament? was it a true Divine Faith or not? If it was whereon was it built? Not certainly on the Infalible Testimony of the Jewish Church, which at that time consented to the death of the Messias condemning him as a Malefactor and Deceiver: Or did they believe it because of the great rational evidence they had to convince them, that those Prophecies came from God? If so, why may not we believe the Divinity of all the Scriptures on the same grounds and with a Divine Faith too? With what Faith did those believe in the Messias who were not personally present at the Miracles which our Saviour wrought, but had them conveyed to them by such reports as the womans of *Samar-*

ria was to the *Samaritans*? Or were all such persons excused from believing, meerly because they were not spectators? But by the same reason all those would be excused, who never saw our Saviours Miracles, or heard his Doctrine or his Apostles: but if such persons then were bound to believe, I ask on what Testimony was their Faith founded? Was the woman of *samaria* Infallible in reporting the Discourse between Christ and her? Were all the persons Infallible who gave an account to others of what Christ did? Yet I suppose, had it been your own case, you would have thought your self bound to have believed Christ to have been the Messias, if you had lived at that time, and a certain account had been given you of our Saviours Doctrine and Miracles by men faithful and honest, though you had no reason to have believed them infallible: I pray, Sir, answer me, would you have thought your self bound to have believed or no? If you affirm it (as I will suppose you so much a Christian as to say so) I pray then tell me whether persons in those circumstances might not have a true and divine Faith where there was no infallible Testimony, but only Rational Evidence to build it self upon? And if those Persons might have a divine Faith upon such evidence as that was, may not we much more who have

evidence of the same nature indeed, but much more extensive, universal, and convincing than that was? And how then can you still assert an Infallible Testimony of the conveyers of divine Revelation to be necessary in order to a divine Faith? Nay further yet, how few were there in comparison, in the first Ages of the Christian Church, who received the Doctrine of the Gospel from the mouths of persons Infallible? and of those who did so, what certain evidence have men, that all those persons did receive the Doctrine upon the account of the Infallibility of the Propounders, and not rather upon the Rational evidence of the Truth of the Doctrine delivered; and whether the belief of their Infallibility was absolutely necessary to Faith, when the report of the evidences of the Truth of the Doctrine might raise in them an obligation to believe, supposing them not Infallible in that delivery of it, but that they looked on them as honest men, who faithfully related what they had seen and heard? and to which evidence of sense the Apostles and Evangelists appealed; so that when there was certainly an infallible Testimony, yet that is not urged as the only Foundation for Faith, but Rational Evidence produced even by those Persons who were thus infallible. If we descend lower in the Christian Church,

1 Joh. 1. 1.

2 Pet. 1. 16.

Luk. 1. 1, 2

or walk abroad to view the several Plantations of the Churches at that time, where do we read or meet with the least intimation of an Infallible Testimony of the Catholick Church, so called from its Communion with that of *Rome*? What Infallible Testimony of that Church had the poor *Britains* to believe on? Or those *Barbarians* mentioned in *Irenæus*, who yet believed without a written Word? What mention do we meet with in all the ancient Apologeticks of Christians wherein they give so large an account of the grounds of Christian Faith, of the modern method for resolving Faith? Nay, what one ancient Father or Council give the least countenance to this pretended Infallibility, much less make it the only sure Foundation of Faith as you do? Nay how very few are there among your selves who believe it, and yet think themselves never the worse Christians for it? If then your Doctrine be true what becomes of the Faith of all these persons mentioned? Upon your principles their Faith could not be true and Divine Faith; that is, let them all think they believed the Doctrine of Christ never so heartily, and obey it never so conscientiously; yet because they did not believe on the Infallibility of your Church, their Faith was but a kind of gilded and splendid infidelity, and none of them Christi-

ans, because not Jesuits. And doth not this principle then fairly advance Christianity in the world, when the belief of it comes to be settled on Foundations, never heard of in the best and purest times of it; nay such Foundations, as for want of their believing them, their Faith must be all in vain, and Christ dyed in vain for them.

And what now saith *E. W.* to all this? *First*, he saith, *I do not bring Instances enough. Secondly, That I bring too many.*

1. That I do not bring enough; for he *Disc. 3. c. 3.* much wonders *I omit to touch upon an in-*
n. 6. *stance far more difficult than any of these*
concerning rude and illiterate persons, which
I and all others are bound to solve. Me-
 thinks he might have been contented with
 those I had brought, unless he had answered
 them better; and should not have blamed me
 for omitting that which I purposely take no-
 tice of and give a sufficient answer to in these
 words. Although the Ignorance and care-
 lessness of men in a matter of so great con-
 sequence be so great in all Ages, as is not to be
 justified, because all men ought to endeavour
 after the highest ways of satisfaction in a mat-
 ter so nearly concerning them (and it is none
 of the least things to be blamed in your
 Church, that she doth so much countenance
 this ignorance and neglect of the Scripture)

yet

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part 1. c. 6.
Sect. 15.

yet for such persons who either morally or invincibly are hindered from this capacity of examining Scripture, there may be sufficient means for their Faith to be built upon. For although such illiterate persons cannot themselves see and read the Scripture, yet as many as do believe do receive the Doctrine of it by that sense, by which Faith is conveyed; and by that means they have so great certainty as excludes all doubting, that such Doctrines and such matters of Fact are contained in these Books, by which they come to the understanding of the nature of this Doctrine and are capable of judging concerning the Divinity of it. For the Light spoken of in Scripture is not a light to the eye but to the mind; now the mind is capable of this light, as well by the ear, as by the eyes. The case then of such honest illiterate persons, as are not capable of reading Scripture, but diligently and devoutly hear it read to them, is much of the same nature with those who heard the Apostles Preach this Doctrine before it was writ. For whatever was an Argument to such to believe the Apostles in what they spake, becomes an Argument to such who hear the same things, which are certainly conveyed to us, by an unquestionable Tradition: So that nothing hinders but such illiterate persons may resolve their Faith into the same

Doctrine and Motives which others do, only those are conveyed to *them* by the *ear*, which are conveyed to *others* by the *eyes*. But if you suppose persons so rude and illiterate, as not to understand any thing, but that they are to believe as the Church believes ; do you if you can, resolve their Faith for them ; for my part I cannot, and am so far from it that I have no reason to believe they can have any. Judge now, Reader, what measure I am like to meet with from such men, who can so impudently charge me with omitting a difficulty, which I give so punctual an answer to.

2. But those instances I have brought are too many for him ; as will easily appear by the shuffling answers he makes to them. My design was from them to prove that the Churches Infallibility was not necessary in order to Faith ; he puts it thus : *If the Infallibility of the Church be a sure Foundation of Faith, &c.* Is not this a good beginning to put *sure* in stead of *Necessary*, or *only sure* ? For that *may be sure* which is *not necessary*, and it was the necessity I disproved by these Instances. To them however he attempts to give an Answer.

1. In general. *That none make the Roman Catholick Church in all circumstances the only sure Foundation of Divine Faith.* For the

the first man that believed in Christ our Lord
 before the compleat establishment of his Church
 had perfect faith resting on that great Master
 of Truth, without dependance on the Christian
 Church, for Christ alone was not the Church,
 but the Head of it. Faith therefore in gene-
 ral requires no more, but only to rely upon
 God the first verity speaking by this or that
 Oracle, by one or more men lawfully sent to
 teach, who prove their mission and make the
 doctrine proposed by them evidently credible.
 In like manner the Apostles preached no do-
 ctrine in the name of the new Christian Church,
 whilst our Saviour lived here on earth, but
 testified that he was the true Messias by ver-
 tue of those signs and miracles which had been
 already wrought above the force of Nature. A
 very fair concession! which plainly destroys
 the necessity of the Churches infallibility in
 order to Faith. For if no more be necessary
 in order to faith, but to rely upon God the
 first verity speaking by this or that Oracle, &c.
 how comes the infallible testimony of the
 Church to be in any Age necessary to faith?
 For God spake by Christ and his Apostles as
 his Oracles by whom his word is declared to
 us, therefore nothing can be necessary to faith
 but to rely upon God the first Truth speaking
 by them. And this we assert as well as they.
 But he must prove that we cannot rely on
 God

God as speaking by them, unless he hath an *infallible Church* in every Age, if he will make this infallible testimony of the Church necessary to faith; which I despair of ever seeing done while the world stands.

N. 8.

2. In particular, 1. To the instance of the disciples of Christ believing the divine Authority of the old Testament without any infallible testimony of the Jewish Church; only upon the rational evidence they had to convince them that those Prophecies came from God: he answers; *that it is hard to say where the force of it lies, seeing there were innumerable Jews then dispersed all Jury over and the other parts of the world who most firmly believed the Divine Authority of those Books, upon whose Testimony the Apostles might believe those Books to be divine.* A most excellent answer if we well consider it! Have not they of the Church of *Rome* proved the necessity of infallibility in the Church from *Deut. 17 10, 11, 12.* (of which abundant instances might be produced, and particularly *the Considerator of my Principles*) which words if they imply any Infallibility at all do necessarily prove that it is lodged in the supream Ecclesiastical Judges and no where else; so that if there were no infallibility in them it could not be supposed to be any where else; therefore I proposed the case at that time when

when these Ecclesiastical Judges consented to the death of Christ, and my Question will not only hold of the *Apostles* but of any common *Jews* among them, who might not believe Christ infallible, any more than the *Sanhedrim*, I ask' whether such might not have seen sufficient ground to believe that *the Prophecies came not in old time by the will of man, but by the Will of God?* if such persons had reason sufficient for their faith without any infallible Testimony, the same I say may all Christians have of the Divine Authority of the New Testament. For if the concurrent Testimony of the dispersed *Jews* firmly believing the divine Authority of the Old Testament were a sufficient ground for a person then to believe the Divinity of those Books, why may not the concurrent Testimony of all Christians afford as sufficient a ground to believe the Authority of the Books of the New, though no Ecclesiastical Senate among Christians be supposed any more infallible, than the Jewish *Sanhedrim* was at the death of Christ? and by this I hope *E.W.* may a little better perceive what this objection aims at. *But*, saith he, *hence it follows not, that then there was no Jewish Church which believed the divine verities of the old Scripture* : O the monstrous subtilty of Jesuits! who is able to stand before
their

their terrible wits? What have we to do with a Churches believing the divine verities of the Old Scripture? we only enquire for the Testimony of a Church as necessary in order to others believing it. If they firmly believed and yet had no infallible Testimony of a Church at that time what can be more to our advantage than this? seeing it hence follows, that there may be a firm faith without any Churches infallible Testimony. *Well, but he verily thinks, I mistook one objection for another; perhaps I would have said that the Apostles lost faith of our Saviours Resurrection at the time of his Passion, but this difficulty is solved over and over.* And then falls unmercifully to work with this man of clouts; he throws him first down and tramples upon him, then sets him up again to make him capable of more valour being shown upon him, then he kicks him afresh, beats him of one side and then of the other, and so terribly triumphs over him, that the poor man of clouts blesteth himself that he is not made of flesh and bones, for if he had, it might have cost him some aches and wounds. But I assure him I meant no such thing; yet if I had, I do not see, but after all his batteries, the argument, such as it is, would have stood firm enough; for supposing the Infallible Testimony of the Church to

N. 9.

reli

rest in the Apostles after our Saviours death, it must have prejudiced the faith of others who were to believe that article upon their Authority, if they lost the faith of Christs Resurrection.

2. I instanced in those who believed in Christ and yet were not personally present at the miracles which our Saviour wrought, but had them conveyed to them by such reports as the womans of *Samaris* was to the *Samaritans*. Of these I ask what infallible Testimony their faith was built upon? And if those persons might have a Divine Faith meerly upon rational evidence, may not we much more who have evidence of the same nature, but much more extensive, universal and convincing than that was? To this he answers, *by distinguishing between the Motive or the natural Proposition of faith, which comes by bearing and the infallible Oracle whereupon it relies; and he thinks it strange I did not see the distinction.* It is far easier to see the distinction than the pertinency of it to his purpose; for our Question is not about the necessity of an Infallible Oracle in order to Faith, but of an infallible Proposition; we still yield that which our faith relies upon to be an infallible Oracle of God, but if a natural Proposition of that be sufficient for faith, we have all we contend for. But to what

N. 10.

N. 11.

what purpose *the Legend of S. Photina, and the dispute whether she were the Samaritan woman*, is here inserted, is very hard to understand, unless he thought it the best way by any means to escape from the business in hand.

N. 12.

Next, he tells us, *what he might answer to these instances, by saying with good Divines that all immediate Propounders or Conveyers of Divine Revelation in such particular cases need not to be infallible.* I am glad to hear of such good Divines among them: only I would know why in these particular cases an infallible proposition was unnecessary to faith, if in the general case of all Christians it be now become necessary? But he saith *although infallibility be not necessary for young beginners seldom molested with difficulties against faith, yet it is not only convenient but absolutely necessary for others more learned, who often struggle to captivate their understanding, when the high mysteries of Christianity are proposed.* Never was there certainly a more senseless answer *for who are molested with difficulties against faith*, if those who are to be converted to Christianity are not: who have none of the advantages of education to recommend the doctrines of Christianity to their minds; and are filled and prepossessed with contrary prejudices. Never were there such happy Converters of Infidels as the

the *Jesuits* are, if they meet with such *Converts* who are never molested with difficulties against faith; only as they grow up, they begin to grow *Infidels* again, and then it is necessary to choke them with an *Infallible Church*. I do not at all wonder, that the more learned in the Church of *Rome* seeing the weakness of the grounds of Faith among them do struggle with themselves about believing the mysteries of their faith; but I very much wonder if so unreasonable a pretence as that of *Infallibility* can ever satisfy them. I desire to know of these *more learned believers*, whether they believed the Churches *Infallibility* before those *strugglings* or not? if they did not, how came they to be believers, since there can be no divine faith, without an infallible testimony? if they did, how came they to question whether they were to believe the particular mysteries of faith, if they did believe the Church *Infallible* which proposed them? But I suppose these learned believers, were such as questioned the *Infallibility* of the Church, and Christ and his Apostles too; of which sort I doubt not there are many in *Rome* it self.

But yet he hath two other ways to solve these difficulties. 1. *By Gods special illumination*; and that I hope, may serve all as well as these; and then let him shew the necessity

N. 13.

cessity of an infallible Proponent. 2. *That every particular proponent as a member conjoyned with Christs infallible Oracle may be said to teach infallibly.* A most admirable speculation! and so may every one we meet with in the streets, be infallible not as considered in himself, but *as a member conjoyned with truth*: or every Sectary; *as a member conjoyned with Gods word*, which I hope is an *Oracle*, altogether as infallible as the *Church*. But the question is, whether such a one may be divided from Gods infallible Truth or not? if not, he is absolutely infallible: if he may; then what security hath any one to rely upon him upon such a conditional Infallibility, which he can have no assurance of?

N. 14.

But still he hopes to retort the Instances upon me: I never saw such a way of retorting in my whole life. My design was to prove by these Instances that an infallible Testimony of a Church was not necessary in order to Faith; he saith *I must solve my own difficulties*. I confess I see none at all in my way that need to be answered; for I assert that men may have sufficient Grounds of Faith without an infallible Proponent. Well, *but he supposes, all these Barbarians converted to Christ to have had true Faith and consequently prudent Motives to believe, before they firmly assented to the Divine Revelation.* And

so

so do I too. But what were these motives? To this *Question*, he saith, *I return the strangest answer he ever heard; for I seem to make the motives inducing to faith nothing but the Rational evidence of the Truth of the Doctrine delivered and therefore I grievously complain that they destroy the obligation which ariseth from the Rational evidence of the Christian Religion;* upon which he discourseth, as though by *rational evidence the self-evidencing light of the doctrine, and consequently all the miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles were to no purpose.* Have not I reason to applaud my good fortune that I have met with so ingenuous an Adversary? But I see those who write Controversies must be true *Nethinims*, not only hewers of difficulties, and drawers of the waters of contention, but bearers of burdens too; even such, as their Adversaries please to lay upon them. Could any thing be further from my meaning than by the *rational evidence of Christianity*, to understand *the self-evidencing light of the Scriptures?* But it is not what I say, but what *E. W.* finds in his *Common-place-Books*: a little before, when I had proposed an argument he had not met with in those terms, he presently fancied I meant another argument which he found under the *title of Defectibility of the Church*, and then in

comes that with the answers he found ready to it. Now for *the rational evidence* of Christian Religion, he finds not that *Head* in his *Note-Books*; and cannot therefore tell what to make of it. But an argument he had ready against *the self-evidencing light of the scriptures*; and therefore the Seraphims feather must serve instead of St. *Lawrence's* Gridiron. He might have been easily satisfied in that very Paragraph, what I mean by the rational evidence of Christian Religion; *viz.* the unquestionable assurance which we have of the matters of fact, and the miracles wrought by Christ for confirmation of his Doctrine: and this within four lines after the words by him produced. And in the foregoing paragraph, I insist very much on the evidence of sense as to the miracles wrought by Christ as a great part of the rational evidence of Christianity, which is destroyed by the doctrine of the Roman Church, while transubstantiation is believed in it. For what assurance can there be of any object of sense such as the miracles of Christ were and his Body after his Resurrection; if we are so framed not only that our senses may be, but we are bound to believe that they are actually deceived in as proper an object of sense as any in the world? And if such a thing may be false what evidence

dence can we have, when any thing is true? For if a thing so plain and evident to our senses may be false, *viz.* that what I and all other men see is bread; what ground of certainty can we have, but that which my senses and all other mens judge to be false may be true? For by this means the *criterium* both of sense and reason is destroyed and consequently all things are equally true and false to us; and then farewell sense and reason and Religion together. These things I there largely insist upon; which is all very silently passed over, the *Schools* having found no answers to such arguments; and therefore they must be content to be let alone. But however, though arguments cannot be answered I desire they may not be mis-represented; and that when I fully declare what I mean by *rational evidence*, such a sense may not be put upon my words as I never dreamt off.

There is nothing after which looks with the face of an answer to these Instances, unless it be that he saith, *that none can have infallible assurance either of our Saviours Mi-* N. 19.
racles, or of any other verity recorded in scripture, independent of some actual living, actual infallible, and most clear evidenced Oracle by signs above the force of nature, which in this present state is the Church. These are good sayings and they want only

proving; and by the Instances already produced, I have shewed that Persons did believe upon such evidence, as implied no infallible Testimony; and if he goes about to prove the Church infallible by such Miracles wrought by her as were wrought by the Apostles, I desire only not to believe the Church infallible till I be satisfied about these Miracles; but of that afterwards.

But I demanded if we can have no assurance of the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles without an Infallible Church, what obligation can lie upon men to believe them, who see no reason to believe any such Infallibility? And since the Articles of our Faith are built upon matters of fact such as the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, whether these matters of fact may not be conveyed down in as unquestionable a manner as any others are? Cannot we have an unquestionable assurance that there were such persons as *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and that they did such and such things, without some Infallible Testimony? If we may in such things why not in other matters of fact which infinitely more concern the world to know, than whatever *Cæsar* or *Pompey* did? This his Margin calls *an unlearned objection*, and in the body of his *Book*, saith, *I might have proposed a wiser Question*; an easier I grant I might, as appears

pears by the answer he gives it. For *two things*, he saith, *may be considered*. 1. *That the man called Christ dyed upon the Cross, and this*, he saith, *both Jews and Gentiles yet assent to upon Moral Certainty, but therefore do not believe in Christ*. 2. *That the man called Christ dying for us was the only Messias, truly God, the Redeemer of mankind*. Here we have, he saith, *the hidden verities of Christian Religion, the certain objects of faith, conveyed unto us by no moral assurance but only upon Gods Infalible Revelation*. A very wise answer I must needs say: if intolerable shuffling be any part of wisdom. Read over my words again, and be ashamed. *If so, then men cannot have any unquestionable assurance that there was such a Person as Christ in the world, that he wrought such great miracles for confirmation of his doctrine, that he died and rose again*. Is all this no more than the common consent of *Jews, Gentiles and Christians that Christ died on a Cross*? Was ever any man so senseless as to make only the belief of the death of Christ on the Cross, the reason of believing his Divinity? But I say his Miracles before and Resurrection after gave abundant testimony that he was sent from God, and therefore his doctrine must needs be true; and when we believe the truth of his doctrine, we

are bound to believe every part of it; such are his being the only Messias, the true God, the Redeemer of mankind, and all other divine verities contained therein. Let the Reader now judge whether the Objection or the Answer favours of more ignorance and folly. But it is the mischief of this School-Divinity, that it adds confidence to Ignorance, and it makes men then most apt to despise others, when they most expose themselves.

Rational
Account
part 1. c. 5.
sec. 9.

I proceeded to shew, that instead of settling faith on a sure foundation by the Churches Infallibility, they bring it to greater uncertainties than it was in before; because they can neither satisfy men what that Church is, which they suppose Infallible, what in that Church is the proper subject of this Infallibility, what kind of Infallibility it is, nor how we should know when the Church doth define Infallibly: and yet, I say, every one of these Questions is absolutely necessary to be resolved in order to the satisfaction of mens minds as to the Foundation of their Faith. His Answer to these Questions refers us to *his proofs of the Roman Churches Infallibility, as the only Society of Christians which hath power to define Infallibly by her representative moral Body*; which when I see proved I shall confess an Answer is given to those Questions. Only one thing he thinks fit to give a more particular

Disc 3. c. 3.
§. 22.

particular Answer to ; which is, that this Infallibility should be the only Foundation of believing all things in Religion, and yet so many things and some of them very strange ones must be certainly believed before it. Here his common-place-Book again fails him, and therefore wanting his Compass he roves and wanders from the point in hand. He tells me *it is hard to guess at my meaning, for I name not one article thus assented to. Perhaps I would say, that the verities revealed in some Books of Scripture called Protocanonical known by their own proper signatures or motives, as the Harmony, Sanctity, and Majesty of the Stile, may be believed without this Testimony of an Infallible Church.* Well, he doth not know what I meant, but he knew an Argument, he had an Answer ready to ; and therefore that must be my meaning. But are not my words plain enough to any one that reads them? And what a vast measure of faith, say I, is necessary to believe the Papal Infallibility ; for unless a man believes the particular Roman Church to be the Catholick Church, unless he believes that Christ hath promised an infallible assistance to the Pastors of the Church, and that not as separate, but as assembled in Council ; and not in every Council, but such as the Pope calls and presides in and confirms, he cannot

believe this Doctrine of Infallibility. Nay further, he must Infallibly believe the Church to be Infallible, though no Infallible Argument be brought for it; that this Church doth judicially and authoritatively pronounce her sentence in matters of Faith though we know not what that Church is which must so pronounce; that he Infallibly know that this particular sentence was so pronounced, though he can have no other than moral means of knowing it; and lastly, that the Infallibility must be the first thing believed, although all these things must be believed before it. Could any man well in his senses after reading these words imagine that I meant *the self evidencing light of the Scriptures* again? But they write for those that believe them, and that never dare look into the Books they pretend to confute.

Yet he hath a mind to prove the name of *Roman Catholick Church* to be no *Bull*; which I said in a *Parenthesis*, was like *German-universal Emperour*: This gives a new start, another common-place Head is searched, *Title, Catholick Church*, there he finds ready the old weather beaten Testimonies, *Rom. 1. 8. Your Faith is renowned the whole world over*; ergo *Roman and Catholick* are all one. A plain demonstration! What need they talk of the *obscurity of Faith*, where there is such

such convincing evidence? But what if it should have happened that *S. Paul* had said the same thing of the Faith of the *Corinthians*, or *Thessalonians*, would it not have been a most evident demonstration that the Church of *Corinth* was the *Catholic Church* at that time, and was to continue so in following Ages? But Scripture though never so plain cannot serve their turn, they must have Fathers too. So *E.W.* brings in *St. Hierom*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Ambrose*, all evidently proving that the Church of Rome was once *Catholic*: and what then I beseech him? Were not other Churches so too? But these very Testimonies, as it unhappily falls out, had been particularly and largely examined by me in a whole Chapter to that purpose. Rational Account part 2. c. 1. But it is no matter for that, I had not blotted them out of his *Note-Books*, and there he found no answers, and therefore out they come again.

§. 11. 2. The second thing I objected Of the Circle in the Resolution of Faith, not avoided by E. W. against this way of resolving Faith, was that it did not effect that which it was brought for, for supposing that Church Infallible, and that Infallibility proved by the motives of credibility, they do not escape the circle objected against them: Which I shewed, 1. from the nature of divine Faith as explained by them.
2. From

2. From the consideration of the persons whose Faith was to be resolved. 3. From the nature of that Infallibility which is attributed to the Church. I must now consider how *E. W.* attempts the clearing of these difficulties.

1. As to the nature of divine Faith. I ask whether a divine Faith as to the Churches Infallibility, may be built upon the motives of credibility? If it may, then a divine Faith may rest upon prudential motives, if not, then this way cannot clear them from a circle in the resolution of divine Faith. For I demanded why with a divine Faith they believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Their answer is, because the Church which is Infallible delivers them as such to us. If I then ask, why with a divine Faith they believe the Churches Infallibility? I desired them to answer me if they can any other way than because the Scriptures which are Infallible say so. It is a very pleasant thing to see how *E. W.* is miserably put to his shifts about this difficulty, for although in his former Discourses he had pressed the necessity of *divine Faith* so much, that from thence he might introduce the necessity of Infallibility; yet he now seems wholly to have forgotten any such distinction, of Faith humane and divine; although he could not but see that the force of my

my Argument did depend upon it. The substance of his answer is, *That the first act of Disc. 3.c.5. Faith whereby we believe the Churches Infallibility relies not on Scripture, but upon the Church it self, as the most known manifested Oracle.* Be it so : but the Question is, whether this first act be *divine Faith* or not ; if not, it is nothing to the purpose, if it be, then divine Faith may want an Infallible Testimony : for this first act of Faith concerning the Churches Infallibility hath nothing to rely upon, but the fallible motives of credibility, and consequently *divine Faith* may want an Infallible Testimony. And I say still let them answer this if they can ; without apparent shuffling and running away from the Question in hand.

2. From the consideration of the *persons* whose Faith is to be resolved : for I say, 1. The Question is not which way they will prove the Infallibility of their Church against those who deny it, but which way they resolve their own Faith of the Churches Infallibility. 2. In disputing against their Adversaries they cannot avoid the circle ; for while they prove Infallibility from Scripture, the Question arises how they come to know Infallibly, that this is the sense of those places ? for which they must again appeal to the Churches Infallibility in delivering the sense of Scripture :

N. 7.

ture : which if it be not a circle, I say, there is hardly such a figure in Mathematicks. To this he answers. 1. *That they both resolve and prove* ; but then if they do resolve their Faith into this Infallibility, it is no sufficient answer to say *they only prove it to Adversaries* : which was all I intended by that first particular. But what answer doth he give to the second concerning *the sense* of Scripture ? Here again he makes use of his distinction of *the first and second act of Faith* ; the first he saith, *is not at all founded upon the sense of Scripture, but upon the Churches own Infallible Testimony made by it self and for it self immediately credible.* Now if we speak, saith he, of another distinct, consequent, and more explicit act of Faith, when we believe the Churches Infallibility upon this ground, that she declares the Scriptures genuine sense which proves her an Infallible Oracle, there is no difficulty at all, because this very Exposition or Interpretation of Scripture is ultimately resolved into (and therefore again believed upon) the same Infallible Authority of the Church, or rather upon Scripture and the Churches Interpretation together. For thus joyntly taken they ground Faith, and not like two disparate principles, as if we first believed the Scriptures sense independently of the Churches

N. 8, 9.

Churches Interpretation, and then again believed the Churches interpretation to be Infallible, because the sense of Scripture known aliunde, or without depending on Church Authority, saith she is Infallible; This cannot be if Scripture and the Churches interpretation indivisibly concur to this latter act of Faith, whereof we now speak. Here then is a Dilemma that clears all and frees us from the least shadow of a circle: we either know (or believe) the Scriptures N. 10. sense independently of the Churches interpretation, or receive it upon her Infallible Authority; grant the first there is no danger of a circle; grant the latter, there are no two imaginable propositions to make a circle of, whilst that sense internal to the letter cannot be Infallibly propounded otherwise, than by the Church. I have set down these words more at large to let the Reader try his faculty upon them; what tolerable sense he can make of them. My objection was plain and easie, they offer to prove the Churches Infallibility by Scripture, at least as to the second act of Faith, which is alone pertinent to our purpose; I asked what way they come to believe Infallibly themselves and assure others this is the sense of those places; and in this case they are forced to return to the Churches Infallibility; judge now, Reader;

der, whether here be not a plain circle because they believe the Church Infallible because the true sense of Scripture saith she is so ; and again they believe this to be the Infallible sense of Scripture, because the Infallible Church saith so. No saith *E.W.* *Here is not the least shadow of a circle.* I would he had told us first what a circle was, and then applyed what he had said to the description given of it. But for all that I can see by his answer he had a mind to amuse his Reader by seeming to say something ; but no great matter what. Is not that a circle when the Ar-

Ὁ, ὃ διὰ πολλὰ ἰερὰ
 συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ ὁφείλον
 τῶν ζήτων πρᾶγμα
 εἶναι βεβαιωθῇ, χρεῖαν
 ἔχῃ τὸ τῶν ζήτων πίστοι.
Sextus Empir. Pyrrho. hypot.
 l. i. c. 15.

gument made use of to prove another thing by, must it self be proved by that very thing, which it is made use of to prove ? For in this case the mind hath nothing to fix it self

upon, and therefore must suspend all assent : which must have some certain foundation to proceed upon, on which it may rest it self. As the will could not love Physick for the sake of health, if it loved health for the sake of Physick, so neither can the understanding assent to one truth for another, if it assent to that other only for the sake of the former. For then the same Proposition would be more certain than the other, as it is the antecedent by which the other is proved ; and less cer-
 tain

tain as it is the consequent proved by the other as it's antecedent: and so in different respects would be more and less certain than it self. Let us now apply this to our present case. The thing to be proved is the Churches Infallibility, the Argument to prove it by, is the Infallible sense of Scripture; but if the Infallible sense of Scripture can be proved by nothing but the Churches Infallible interpretation; then it is plain that is assumed as an Argument to prove Infallibility by, which cannot be otherwise known than by this Infallibility. Now let any man attend to the answer he gives: he saith, *there is no difficulty at all in believing the Churches Infallibility upon this ground, that she declares the Scriptures genuine sense which proves her an Infallible Oracle.* No difficulty at all! Nay, that is a little strange, that there should be no difficulty at all in believing the Churches Infallibility upon the sense of those Scriptures, whose sense could not be infallibly known without the supposal of that Infallibility, which is to be proved by them. But how comes there to be *no difficulty at all* in this matter? *Because this very Exposition or Interpretation of Scripture brought to its last principle is ultimately resolved into (and therefore again believed upon) the same Infallible Authority of the Church, or rather*

rather upon *Scripture and the Churches interpretation together*. What a strange thing the difference of mens understandings is ! That which he thinks makes it *no difficulty at all*, makes it to me the greatest in the world. For by *the Exposition or Interpretation* I suppose he means, *the Infallible sense of Scripture* : and if this be resolved into and believed upon the same *Infallible Authority of the Church*, then I still enquire how this Infallible Authority of the Church comes to be proved by this Exposition of Scripture the Infallibility of which doth suppose the thing to be proved, *viz.* the Churches Infallibility. And if the sense internal to the letter cannot be infallibly propounded otherwise than by the Church ; I would fain know what assurance any man can have of this sense but from the belief of this Infallible Interpreter ? But, saith he, *Scripture and the Churches Interpretation indivisibly concur to this latter act of Faith*. This *indivisible concurrence*, is to me an odd piece of *mystical Divinity* : the meaning must be (if there be any) that I believe the Church Infallibility by those Scriptures, from the Churches Infallibility appearing in the Infallible sense of those Scriptures. But whence, say I, doth this appear to be the Infallible sense of them ? For if the sense of

of any places of Scripture be doubtful, theirs is; since their meaning is so doubtful, how come men firmly to believe this to be the true and Infallible sense of those places and none else? Can men come to an Infallible sense of Scripture, without an Infallible Church? if so, what need of any such Infallibility? if not, then the Infallible sense of these places cannot be known but from the Churches Infallibility: and therefore the Circle unavoidably follows, viz. that they must prove the Churches Infallibility by the Infallible sense of Scripture, and the Infallible sense of Scripture by the Churches Infallibility. And any man might easily guess that *E. W.* was in a Circle by his Conjuring, and speaking things which neither he, nor any one else can understand.

3. I shewed, that they avoided not the circle by this way, from the nature of the *Infallibility*, which they attribute to the Church. Which is not by an *immediate Revelation*, but *but by Divine assistance promised in Scripture*; and therefore the utmost the motives of credibility can do in this case, is only to notify or distinguish the Church; but still the formal reason of believing this Infallibility, cannot be from those Motives, but from those pro-

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N. II.

mises which are supposed in Scripture to imply it. So that still the circle returns; for they believe the Scriptures Infallible because of the Churches Testimony, and the Church Infallible because of the promises of Scripture. This he gravely calls, *an unlearned objection*. That is even as it pleases him; but I have no reason to take him for an Infallible judge of Learning: how ever it is no great matter, learned or unlearned, it is more than he gives any tolerable answer to. But I see no reason why he calls it so unless it be, because he saith *it is in effect the same objection repeated again*. And he thinks a man may be allowed to call his Creditor Rogue or Rascal, that comes a second time, because he could get no good answer at first. However such is the civility of *E. W.* that he will not send it away without a sufficient answer; and yet after all we have nothing for payment but *the first general act of Faith*; one would have thought it had been the *Act of Publick Faith*, by the badness of the payment. *And this first general act of Faith*, he saith, *wholly relies upon the Churches own Infal-
lible Testimony, without depending on Scrip-
ture*. But what is this to that divine Faith we enquire after, and which, he saith, must rest upon an Infallible Authority? For since
Faith

Faith must rest upon its motives, and those motives are confessed to be fallible ; this cannot be that assent of Faith, which himself makes to be necessary and we have made appear, notwithstanding all his shuffling, unavoidably brings them into a Circle.

Ee 2

Chap.

CHAP. III.

An Enquiry into the Miracles of the Roman Church.

*E. W's Af-
sertions
about the
Miracles of
the Roman
Church.*

*Rational
Account
Part I C. 5.
Sect. 12.*

THE next thing which I objected against this way of resolving faith was that it was notoriously false, *viz. that there are the same motives of credibility for the Infallibility of the Roman Church, that there were for the Infallibility of Moses and the Prophets, or of Christ and his Apostles.* The natural consequence I said, of affirming this was, that there is as great danger in not believing the Church of *Rome* infallible, as in not believing *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles to have been sent from God. For where there is an equal obligation to believe, there is an equal sin in not believing; and where the sin is equal, it stands to reason that the punishment should be so too. So that the denial of the Roman Churches Infalibility, must be accounted by them

them as high a piece of Infidelity, as calling in Question the Infallibility of Christ himself; or denying the Scriptures. This doth not in the least startle *E.W.* for he boldly asserts, *that there are equal motives of credibility as to their Church and Christ and his Apostles*, he frequently challenges me to shew the disparity, nay he puts the whole issue of his cause upon it. As may be seen by these words of his: The main argument of *T.C.* Reason and Religion disc. 3 c.5. n. 1, 2. he saith was this. *As Christ and his Apostles proved themselves Oracles sent from God by their Works, signs, and Miracles; again as the Primitive Christians induced by such signs believed Christ and the Apostles upon their own Testimony to be Infallible Teachers; so we having ever had the very like Works, signs, and Miracles manifest in the Church are prudently induced to believe her as an Infallible Oracle, upon her own Infallible Testimony.* To solve this plain and pressing argument saith *E.W.* one of these two things must be done: either a disparity is to be given between those first Signs and Miracles of the Apostles, and the later of the Church, or it must be shewn wherein the Inference made is defective or unconcluding, viz. that the Church evidenced by her signs is not proved Gods Infallible Oracle, as the Apostles were proved by their signs, to be Infallible Teachers.

- N. 4. Afterward he saith, *he hath proved that the Church hath wrought Miracles every way equal with those, which the Apostles wrought.* In those Chapters to which he refers us for the proof of this, I find this assertion in the beginning. I say first, clear and unquestionable Miracles of the like quality with those which Christ and his Apostles wrought, have been ever since most gloriously manifest in the Roman-Catholick Church, and in no other Society of Christians. Afterwards, he calls their Miracles, glorious Miracles standing upon in dubitable record; and for the proof of these Miracles he appeals to the lives of the Saints and certain Church-history. Besides the Testimonies of some Fathers of Miracles done in their time, not at all to his purpose, (as shall afterwards appear) he appeals, to the known Miracles of those two admirable Saints, Blessed St. Dominick and the Seraphical St. Francis, and St. Vincentius Ferrerius reported by the pious and learned St. Antoninus Arch-Bishop of Florence. From whence he infers that the Miracles wrought in the Roman-Catholick Church, are not inferior to those done by the Apostles; and a little after, *If the Miracles of Christ and the Apostles rationally proved against Jews and Gentiles the credibility of Apostolical Doctrine, the very like signs and supernatural effects most evident*
- Disc. 2. c. 8,
9.
c. 8. n. 1.
- N. 6.
- N. 7.
- N. 12.
- evident

evident in the Roman-Catholick Church, as rationally prove against Sectaries the credibility of our now professed Catholick-Doctrine; for which he gives this reason. The same signs and marks of Truth when equal in Majesty, worth, quality and number, ever discover to reason the same Truth: wherefore if the Roman-Catholick Church most clearly gives in evidence of her Miracles equal in worth, quality and number with those wrought by Christ and his Apostles, it follows that as those first Apostolical wonders were sufficient to convince Jews and Gentiles of the Truth of Christianity, so these later also wrought in the Church are of like force, and no less efficacious to convince Sectaries of whatever Doctrine she teaches. Now ponder well what the Apostles did; they cured the sick, disposed Devils, raised the dead, converted nations, &c. but these very Miracles have been done in the Roman-Catholick Church, yea and greater too. Ergo, we have the like evidence of Truth in both the Primitive Age and this, consequently with it the same Truth. The sequel is undeniable. After this, for particular instances, he appeals to the undeniably authentick monuments and testimonies of that one sacred house of Loreto; to the continual Miracles done at the Reliques of St. James at Compostella in Spain, to the

N. 16.

N. 17.

N. 18.

f. 9.

Sacred Vial of St. Mary Magdalen in France, wherein, saith he very gravely, the precious blood gathered by that penitent saint at our Saviours passion is yet preserved, and visibly boyls up on the very day he suffered after the reading of the Passion; to the undoubted Miracles wrought by the intercession of our Blessed Lady at Montaigu, for which he calls in the testimonies of Lipsius and Putean, and at large relates a Miracle wrought by St. Xaverius upon F. Marcellus a Jesuit at Naples; and then answers some few Objections and concludes with the vindication of the Miracle at Zaragosa in Spain. This is the substance of *E. W.*'s discourse upon this subject; which in the proper consequence of it doth more really enervate the proofs of Christianity, than establish the infallibility of the Roman Church. For I do not think an Atheist would desire more advantage against the Christian Religion, than to have it granted that the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles were no other than such as are wrought in the Roman Church; and that the proofs of them are no more authentick and undeniable than those of the Miracles done at *Loreto, Compostella, or Montaigu*: and that Christ and his Apostles gave no more illustrious evidences of their being sent from God than *St. Dominick, or St. Francis*; and that there

was

was no greater evidence of Christs Resurrection from the dead than there is of the boyling up of the blood of Christ in the Vial of *St. Mary Magdalen* in the Church of *St. Maximin* in *France*.

Therefore not only to invalidate the Testimony drawn from hence for the Roman Churches Infallibility, but to preserve the honour of Christianity, I am obliged to enquire into these two things.

1. Whether the Testimony upon which the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, and those of the Roman Church are delivered be equally credible?

2. Whether the Miracles of the Roman Church be so equal (to abate him what he saith of *greater*) in worth, quality and number with those of Christ and his Apostles, that the Roman Churches Infallibility is as much attested by them, as Christ and his Apostles was by theirs?

1. I shall enquire into the credibility of the Testimony on both sides. Two things are agreed to make up sufficient credibility in a Testimony; *viz.* the knowledge and fidelity of the persons who deliver it. If they speak nothing but what they were certain witnesses of, and never gave suspicion of fraud and deceit, and offered the highest ways of proof concerning their own fidelity, then it is an unreasonable

reasonable thing to disbelieve them. This is the case of those who recorded our Saviours and his Apostles Miracles, they were persons who either saw them wrought themselves, or had them delivered to them immediately by them who saw them; they published them to the world in that Age wherein they were capable of being disproved by persons then living in the same places where they were wrought, and were notorious enemies to the persons who did them, who were concerned to discover for their own justification the least fraud or imposture in those matters. But besides this to take away all suspicion of design, the witnesses of these things freely quitted all expectations of worldly advantages, they ran themselves upon the greatest hazards to attest the truth of what they said, and at last sacrificed their lives to confirm the truth of their own Testimony. But on the other side if I can prove,

1. That the greatest number of the Miracles in the Roman Church have been believed upon the credit of Fables and uncertain reports.

2. That the Testimony of those who deliver them hath been contradicted by men of greater Authority than themselves.

3. If upon strict and careful examination notorious forgeries and impostures have been disco-

discovered; and never any persons laid down their lives to attest the truth of any of their Miracles; then it can be nothing but the greatest impudence in any to parallel the Testimony of the Primitive Church concerning the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, with that of the Miracles wrought in the Church of *Rome*.

1. That the greatest number of Miracles in the Roman Church have been believed upon the credit of Fables and uncertain reports. For the proof of this I shall make choice of his own instances of *Loreto* in *Italy*, *Compostella* in *Spain*, *St. Maximins* Church in *France*, and the lives of his two admirable Saints to which I shall add some nearer home that we may have a proof of the credibility of these miracles in the most considerable places of *Europe*.

§. 2. Let us first go on pilgrimage to our *Lady of Loreto*, to view the undeniably Authentick publick monuments and Testimonies of Miracles there wrought. The first to be seen there, in a Table hanging up for that purpose, is, the wonderful Miracle in the translation of that Chappel first from *Nazareth* to *Dalmatia*, and from *Dalmatia* into those parts of *Italy* where

Of the Miraculous translation of the Chappel of *Loreto*.

where it now stands. The story cannot be better told, than it is in the Authentick Table it self: which may be thus Translated.

The Church of our B. Lady of Loreto was a Chamber of the House of the B. Virgin Mary Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ which House stood in the country of Judea, in a City of Galilee whose name was Nazareth; in which Chamber the B. Virgin Mary was born, and bred up, and afterwards there received the salutation of the Angel Gabriel, and in the same Chamber she educated her Son Jesus Christ to the Age of twelve years. After the Ascension of Christ to Heaven the Virgin Mary remained upon earth with the Apostles and other Disciples of Christ who seeing many divine Mysteries performed in the said Chamber, did by the common consent of them all decree, to make a Church of that Chamber to the honour and memory of the B. Virgin Mary, which they did, and the Apostles and Disciples consecrated that Chamber to be a Church, and there celebrated divine offices, and St. Luke the Evangelist with his own hands made an Image to the likeness of the B. Virgin, which is there to this day. Afterwards that Church was inhabited and honoured with much devotion by the Christian people in those parts in which it stood as long as the people remained Christian. But after they

they renounced the Christian faith and embraced Mahometism the Angels of God took away the said Church and carried it into the parts of Sclavonia and there placed it by a certain Castle called Fiume, where it met not with that honour which the B. Virgin desired. Therefore the Angels came and took it from thence and carried it clear over the Sea into the parts of the territory of Recanati, and there placed it in a Wood which belonged to a Noble Lady who had the command of the City of Recanati, and was Owner of the Wood whose name was Loreta, and from her the Church took its name of St. Maria de Loreto. In that time by reason of the great concourse of all people to that Wood in which the Church remained abundance of robberies and mischiefs were committed there; and therefore the Angels again took up the Chappel and carried it to a Hill belonging to two Brothers where the Angels set it down; these Brothers getting a vast revenue by the resort of Pilgrims thither and the oblations by them made, fell to a great discord. Upon which the Angels came again and took away the Chappel from that place, and carried it into the High-way; and there placed it where it is now, with many signs and innumerable gifts and miracles. Then all the people of Recanati went to see the Church which stood upon
the

the Earth without any Foundation: and being astonished at such a Miracle, and fearing lest it should come to ruine, they compassed it about with a good thick Wall and a strong Foundation as it is seen at this day, and yet no one knew, from whence that Church came into those parts, until in A. D. 1290. the blessed Virgin appeared in a Dream to a certain man much devoted to her, to whom she revealed the foregoing things, and he presently divulged them to certain honest men of that Country: who immediately resolved to know the truth of these matters; and therefore determined to send sixteen notable good men to Nazareth, to find out the truth of them. Who carried with them the measure of the said Church, and there they found exactly the Foundations of it and the just measure; and to make all sure, they found it written upon a Wall that such a Church had been there and was gone from thence, and these persons upon their return certified the truth of all these things; and from that time it was known that that Chappel was the Chamber of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the Christian people shewed great devotion towards it: for the blessed Virgin there every day, doth infinite Miracles as experience shews.

There was a certain Eremite that was called
 Brother

Brother Paul of the Wood, who dwelt in a small Cottage in that Wood, and every morning went to divine offices in that Chappel, and was a man of a great abstinence and a holy Life, who said, that ten years before or thereabouts on the day of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin being the 8th. of September, two hours before day in a clear Air going out of his Cottage towards the Church he saw a light descend from Heaven upon the Church twelve foot long, and six broad, and when it was upon the Church it vanished; upon which he said it was the blessed Virgin, which there appeared on the day of her Nativity, and came to see her Feast observed; but no man saw her besides this Holy man.

To confirm the Truth and certainty of all these things, two honest men of this Village reported them several times to me Teremanus the Over-seer and Governour of the said Church: one of them was called Paulus Renaldatii, the other Francis Prior. The said Paul told me that his Grandfathers Grandfather saw when the Angels carried the said Chappel over the Sea and placed it in the Wood, and that he and other persons oftentimes went to the said Chappel. And the said Francis oftentimes said to me that his Grandfather being one hundred and twenty years old, said that he went often to the said Church

in

in the Wood. Moreover the said Francis averred that his Grandfathers Grandfather had a House and dwelt there : and that in his time the Chappel was removed by Angels from the hill of the two Brothers to the Highway.

Deo gratias.

Imprinted at Venice by Benedictus de Bindonis A.D. 1499.

In the Italian Copy it is only added, that this Narration was taken out of an Original Authentick M.S. belonging to the said Chappel March 20. A. D. 1492.

And is not this a very pleasant story to be matched in point of credibility with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles ? What do these men think in their hearts of Christian Religion ; that dare avouch such ridiculous fictions as these are, and impose them on the credulity of mankind ? But we are not to imagine this to be only a *Legend* hung up at *Loreto*, for the comfort of devout Pilgrims ; but it is delivered in the same manner, by men who should have had more wit, or more honesty. *Cardinal Baronius* in his *Annals*, cannot let it escape, but relates the miraculous translation of this Chappel from *Nazareth*

*Baron.
Annal. I
Tom. 1.
A. 971.*

Nazareth to Dalmatia, from thence to *Loreto* much after the same way. All the Argument he brings for the truth of it, *is taken from Gods omnipotency*, as though, as *Is. Casaub.* *Exercit. 7. lct. 1.* *bon* truly answers him, all the Rabbinical and Mahumetan Fables might not be believed on the same ground. And he observes from some of the Fathers, that *Gods omnipotency is the Sanctuary of Hereticks*, whither they betake themselves when they are baffled with reason. But *Baronius* refers us to *Canisius* *Canis. Hist. De para l. 5. c. 25.* for a fuller account of this admirable story; who very wisely brings the stories of the Prophet *Elias*, *Habakkuk*, and *Philip* in the Acts to confirm the truth of this; as though the dispute were whether God could do it, and not whether the thing were really done? But if we offer to Question whether the holy Angels are ever employed in the carrying Houses (not on their shoulders I suppose, but their wings) he chokes us presently, with the *Angels, being said to be ministering* *Heb. I. 14.* *spirits for the heirs of Salvation*; as though it were not possible for them to discharge that office faithfully; unless at some time or other, they took away an old House from its Foundations, and mounted it into the Air, and conveyed it above two thousand miles. Is not this notable service to the heirs of Salvation? The latter writers, such as *Ray-*

Raynald. *naldus*, *Bravins*, *Spondanus*, and *Benedictus*
A.D. 1291. *Gononius* refer us to *Horatius Tursellinus*
n. 68, 69. as the most Authentick Historian of this stu-
Brav. Anal. pendous Miracle : and his Book was not only
ad A.D. approved by the General of his order, but
1296. n. 14. hath a Bull of *Clement 8.* prefixed before it.
Spondan. The substance of his story is the very same
A.D. 1291. with the Table of *Teremanus*, only enlarged
n. 22. with some more improbable circumstances,
Geon. as that the Trees made lowly reverences and
Chronic. deip. bowed themselves to the Chappel in its pas-
A.D. 1298. sage; (but it seems they bowed so low that
Tursellin. they could never recover themselves after;
Hist. Lauret. being I suppose of great Age when they made
l. 1. c. 6. this obeysance) that, when the new Wall
 was built for the support of the Chappel;
 the Walls of it would not endure the others
 being too near, but made the new Wall by
 degrees know its due distance, so that at last
 a Boy might be put in between them : that
 the Image of our Saviour being taken out to
 be set in a more conspicuous place, it went
 of its own accord into the Chappel again,
 so that after several attempts they were fain
 to give over their design. I confess these cir-
 cumstances do not tend much to the making
 the story it self more credible; but what Au-
 thority hath *Tursellinus* found out for so
 strange a Miracle? He often quotes *Hierony-
 mus Angelita*, but he writ in *Clement* the se-
 venths

vents time, and dedicated his History of
 that Chappel to him; but the main prop of
 all this story is the Tradition of *Loreto*, and c. 28.
 the *Table of Teremanus*, whom he highly
 commends for his integrity and prudence, who
 was Governour of the Chappel in the time of
Pius 2. about the year 1460. and to his Te-
 stimonies *Turfellinus* appeals for proof of the
 matter of fact. And was ever so great a
 Miracle better attested than this? We will out
 of meer kindness, set aside the Testimony from
 Visions and Dreams; but then could we ima-
 gine any thing less than that some persons of
 credit who had seen the Chappel in its march
 over the Sea, were resolved to observe, where
 such a *Chappel in the Air* would at last fix
 it self; or that some that saw it pitched upon
 the ground without any Foundations, should
 presently fill the Country with the noise of it,
 as such strange things are very apt to do;
 and that such witnesses being strictly exa-
 mined should have left a deposition written
 by them for the satisfaction of future Ages.
 In stead of which we have two plain Coun-
 trymen brought in to give testimony to a thing
 done in the time of their Grandfathers Grand-
 fathers: neither do they both give testimony to
 the same thing; but one of them saith, *his*
Grandfathers Grandfather (not *his Grandfa-*
ther as *Turfellinus* hath it) saw the Chappel,
 while it was in the Air carried by Angels over

the Sea. Is not this a substantial witness, that attests what his Grandfathers Grandfather saw, without any other evidence of it, than that he heard so? *Turfellinus* saith, *that it was not only to Teremanus that they attested this by word, but they did swear to it* : which adds very much to their credit considering the nature of their Testimony; but methinks *Teremanus* himself should not have forgotten that. All the force of this Testimony lies upon one man, who is reported by his great Grandchild to have seen the Chappel carried by Angels over the Sea. But suppose he did see something moving upon the Sea; while he was cutting Wood, or feeding his Cattle in the fields of *la Marca di Ancona* ; was he sure it was the Chappel of *Loreto* : did he see the Angels carrying it? might not a plain Countryman mistake a little about the colour and shape of Angels? might not a Ship under sail in the Adriatick Gulf be taken by such a man for a House carryed by Angels with white Wings? are such Miracles so little regarded by the people of *Italy*, that no proof could be produced for it, but what two Affidavit-men said, that they had heard what their Ancestors almost two hundred years before had seen or heard? Is it possible the memory of such a Miracle should be so near being quite lost? were there no Writers in that Age to record it and take

take notice of it? Is it credible so great a Miracle should happen in those days and neither *Dantes* nor *Petrarch*, nor *Boccace* take the least notice of it, although they were all *Italians*, and inquisitive men, and had sufficient occasion in their Writings to mention it? But suppose, these men were not apt to believe such things; what shall we say to *St. Antonin* of *Florence*, whom *E. W.* calls a *pious and Learned man*, who hath written such a Rapsody of all sorts of Miracles, and lived a good while after this miraculous translation and yet takes not the least notice of it? What shall we say to that admirable Saint, *St. Vincentius Ferrerius*, as *E. W.* calls him, who lived after A. D. 1440. who saith, that the *Vicent. Chamber of our Lady was still in Nazareth* *serm. de as- f. mp. B. V.* And although the former are negative Testimonies, yet they cannot be rejected by such who make use of the same kind of Testimonies to cast off a matter of fact attested by much better Authors than *Paulus Renaldatii*, *Franciscus Prior*, or *Petrus Georgius Termanus*. And that is in the story of Pope *Joan*, wherein *Baronius* saith, That the silence *Baron. Ann. A. D. 853. u. 65.* of so long time after it, wherein there was a just occasion to mention it was more than a thousand witnesses to prove the falsity of it. And if silence be a thousand witnesses on their side, I hope it may be at least five hun-

Tursel. Hist.
La. vet. l. 1.
c. 23.

Blondi Ita-
lia illustr. in
Piceno
p. 339.

Leand. Al-
bert. in
Piceno.
p. 428.

Of the
Miracles
wrought at
th. Chap-
pel of Lo-
reto.

dred on ours. But *Tursellinus* offers to bring all the Testimonies which were to be had; the first, is *Blondus* who was Secretary to *Eugenius* the 4th. about the year 1450. a good competent time after the Miracle was said to be wrought. Yet all that *Blondus* saith is only, *that there was a famous Chappel of our Lady at Loreto, as appeared by the many oblations there made*, but not one word of the miraculous translation. The Poet *Mantuan* saith, *he read the Table hanging up in the Chappel*; and no wonder if he found the story fit for a Poets brain to work upon. *Leander Albertus* speaks home, but he comes much too late to give any Testimony, having published his description of *Italy* A.D. 1550. But *Leander* seems to rely most upon the Miracles there wrought as an evidence of the Chappels miraculous translation; and the proof of those Miracles depends upon the *Tables* hung up in the Chappel; which I suppose are *E. Ws.* undeniable and Authentick Testimonies.

§. 3. Therefore instead of pursuing farther this incredible fiction of the Translation of this Chappel from *Nazareth* to *Dalmatia* and so to *Loreto*, by any scrupulous enquiries, how such a Chamber or part of a House should be able to hold for above one thousand

fix hundred years without decay : how at *Nazareth* it should escape being destroyed when *Josephus* and *Dion* say all the Country thereabout was burnt and destroyed by the *Romans*, fifty Castles and nine hundred eighty five Towns being consumed by *Trajan* after the strange devastation made by *Vespasian*? How the Church of the *Anunciation* at *Nazareth* should be removed to *Italy* and yet remain still at *Nazareth* by the constant Tradition of the Eastern parts? How the measure should be found exactly agreeing by those sent to examine it, when *Thomas de Novariâ* saith, that he lately found out the only true Foundations larger than the Angels Chappels there built? These and several other scruples

Joseph de bello Jud.
l. 7. *Dion in vit. Trajani*

I shall now let alone; and consider the other undeniably authentick monuments and testimonies of this sacred House of Loreto. *Turcellinus* mentions one which he saith, is so well attested that it is a sin to doubt of it : and is very well worth our reading that we may see what rare stories are paralleled with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

Quaresm. Elucid. terra
S. l. 7. c. 5.
per reg. 3.

A certain Priest of Dalmatia being hugely devoted to the blessed Virgin of Loreto, was taken Prisoner by the Turks; who would have forced him to renounce his Religion, which he would by no means bear of; but still called upon Christ and Mary; they being

Turcell. Hist. Lawet. l. 2.
c. 18.

and is very well worth our reading that we may see what rare stories are paralleled with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

A certain Priest of Dalmatia being hugely devoted to the blessed Virgin of Loreto, was taken Prisoner by the Turks; who would have forced him to renounce his Religion, which he would by no means bear of; but still called upon Christ and Mary; they being

enraged at him asked of him what he meant
 to use those names so much ; he told them
 they stuck to his very entrails ; upon which
 they threatened that they would pull out his
 entrails if he did not immediately curse them
 both. Which they resolving to do, the poor
 Priest made a vow to the blessed Virgin of Lo-
 reto, that if he lived he would go in Pilgri-
 mage thither. At which they being more
 enraged cut open his breast and pulled out all
 his entrails, and gave them into his hand be-
 ing now ready to sink, and bid him go and
 carry them to the Lady of Loreto. The Priest
 presently goes on his way, and after many
 days journey, comes safe to Loreto, having
 his entrails in his hand. Wherever he came
 great flocking of people there was about him,
 (as we may easily imagine) and to our
 Ladies servants here he shews his naked breast,
 and his entrails taken out ; and after having
 offered up his devotions to the blessed Virgin,
 in the sight and embraces of her he breathed
 his last. Is not this a swinging Miracle ;
 and deserving credit beyond those of Christ
 and his Apostles ? To ask how a man could
 breath without his Lungs, or live without a
 Heart, or by what vessels the circulation of
 blood was then performed ? or any such unto-
 ward questions, were but to gratifie carnal
 reason too much, where nothing is required
 but

but meer Faith. And such men have certainly great store of that or rather of folly and impudence, that can dare to call these *Legends* by the name of *Authentick monuments or undeniable Testimonies*. This is a very hopeful beginning in the search into *these Monuments*; but I have several things further to object, against this way of proving Miracles by *Tables* that are hung up in such places as the *Chappel* of *Loreto* is.

1. That any extraordinary accident that befalls a person, if he either chanced to think upon the *blessed Virgin* of *Loreto*, or pray to her, or at least tell those so, who are concerned to have it believed, this immediately passes for a Miracle. There are very few persons in the world but at sometime or other of their lives do meet with extraordinary deliverances, either from diseases, or other dangers. If any of these, had lived in those parts and had been possessed with the same superstitious follies, immediately any such passage of their lives, if they had gone to *Loreto* after it and there acquainted the *Pœnitentiary* or *Confessor* with it, it had been entered into the *Tables*, and had been preserved (as a Tooth-drawer doth Teeth) for the reputation of the place. The far greatest part of the Miracles mention'd by *Turjellinus* are of this kind. The first Miracle, by his
own

Turfell. Hist.
Lawit. l. 1.
 c. 26.

own confession which brought the Church of *Loreto* into reputation was the cure of *Pius* the second who being troubled with the Gout, and a Fever, and a Cough, prayed to the Lady of *Loreto* for his recovery, (not meerly to go to *Ancona*, but as the inscription expresseth it on the Cup he sent to *Loreto*, that he might be freed from his diseases and recover sound health) and *Turfellinus* tells us, *That he did not fail of his hope in any part; for immediately, saith he, his Feaver went off, his Cough left him and his Limbs recovered strength; and away he goes for Ancona and there dies of his Feaver and Consumption.* Call you this a Miracle? I know not what kind of Miracles the Lady of *Loreto* works; I am sure Christ and his Apostles never wrought such. We use to say that a Miracle is *a perfect work*; and is dying of a disease a miraculous cure? *Platina* and *Ciacconius* in his life take no notice of a cure, much less of a Miracle, but say that upon some intermission he undertook his journey where he dyed of his disease. Yet *Turfellinus* saith, *The fame of this cure brought great reputation to the Lady of Loreto*: which till that time (*viz.* for one hundred and sixty years after the miraculous Translation) was known only among the inhabitants of the Country about *Ancona*; and scarce the least knowledge

knowledge of it was passed into the neighbour Countries, which is the reason he gives why *Vincentius*, *Antoninus*, and the *Italian writers* take no notice of it : and those who did, as *Blondus*, yet do not mention the *Translation*, lest they should seem to utter vain and incredible things. A very substantial reason I confess. But after this time Miracles grew more frequent, as the superstition and credulity of people did increase. If a man recovered of a dangerous sickness, if *Julius* the second escape being shot by a Cannon bullet, if *Clement* the seventh escape with his life in the sacking of *Rome*, if others are delivered from great dangers either by Sea or Land, in what way or kind so ever it be, if they do but send or go to *Loreto* afterwards, all these are there recorded for Miracles.

2. That this way of Testimony is liable to the greatest exceptions. For, the Priests who make these *Tables* are easily abused by the confident affirmation of persons who come and tell them great stories of Miracles wrought at the invocation of the *Lady of Loreto*; as in all likelihood *Riera* the Penitentiary of *Loreto* was, by many who came to him, who were persons of no reputation at all. As the *Jew* that told the formal story, of his being delivered at Nazareth out of prison, by calling upon his Countrywoman, the

l. 2. c. 2.
c. 12,
c. 24,
c. 27.
l. 3. c. 15 16,
17, 18, 24.
26, 27. l. 4.
5, 6, 7, 17,
18, 19, &c.

Twiss. l. 4.
c. 12.

the

the Lady of Loreto; who thereupon appeared to him with her woman called Lucia waiting upon her, (whom she bid to knock off his chains,) and opened the prison doors and led him to the Sea side, and shewed him a ship ready for his passage, and bid him make hast to Loreto and be there baptized. And we may think he obeyed her will, for he told Riera, that he came to Ancona in two days. Yet this man was received with great joy and the Miracle highly magnified; and which was more, for all that we can find, verily believed. And no doubt the Venetian Courtesan was a person of great credit, who having spent many years in that Trade, came to Loreto full of a very strange Miracle, viz. That she was set upon in her way thither by her companion, who desperately wounded her in many places and cut her throat; and she just in the very nick of expiring called upon the Lady of Loreto for help; who presently appeared to her and took her in her lap and stroked her wounds and immediately cured her body, and filled her soul with heavenly Joy. Was not the blessed Virgin very kind to a Courtesan? But all this was presently believed at Loreto; and as an impregnable evidence of the Truth of it, she shewed a shining list about her neck upon the skin; which was a demonstration she was healed by

by a divine hand. For St. *Winifred* and others had just such a one when their heads were joyned to their bodies again. And are not these *Authentick Testimonies and undeniable Monuments*? Is the Testimony of the whole Christian Church to be compared to that of a Jew and a Courtesan? But supposing the persons who delivered these things to them were such as had a great credit; (and so they had need to be when the reputation of a Miracle depends upon their single Testimony,) yet is it not possible to suppose that the Priests for the reputation of their House, may help out a lame Miracle with an advantagious circumstance or two? it being for so good a Cause as the honour of their Church. Especially when such infinite riches come by it, as may be seen by *Turfellinus* his History of the *Lady of Loreto*; whose Book is made up of Miracles and Riches: and in truth the greatest Miracle there is the riches of that Chappel since it gained reputation in the World. They had need of a very untainted credit, to have their Testimony taken on their bare words, when there is such a reward for Lying. Men need not ask *Cassius* his Question *cui bono*? For any one may easily discern that, that compares the Tables of Miracles and the vast riches accruing by them together. The honest Heathens thought
a persons

a persons Testimony was then to be relyed upon ; when there was no reward for falsehood.

*Cum sunt præmia falsi
Nulla, ratam debet testis habere fidem.*

Tacitus thought, it was a good argument of mens fidelity, if they affirmed a thing *postquam nullum mendacio pretium* ; when there was no advantage to be got by it. But I am sure this can never hold in these *Authentic Testimonies* of the Miracles of the Roman Church ; Rich Jewels, Silver shrines, presents of all sorts, and vast endowments may tempt men to strain a little in such trifles, as a few circumstances, which can easily change an ordinary accident into a Miracle. Nay persons of great honour and reputation, (beyond ten thousand such Priests whose interest is so deeply concerned in the belief of these things,) have affirmed that they have seen Tables hanging up in one of the Churches mentioned by *E. W.* of a miraculous cure wrought upon a lame person, whom themselves have seen immediately after, so lame as to use crutches. Therefore I hope such Testimonies as these, for meer shame, will never more be compared with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles : who had no *Diana's*

to attend upon, nor expected *any silver shrines*. Not that I compare the blessed Virgin to a Heathen Goddess, but I may safely enough, the nature and reward of the attendance on both, and the means to draw riches to their Temples. Can any one imagine if all the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles had been done in this manner, and the Testimony of them only taken from *Tables hanging upon Walls*, that ever Christianity would have prevailed upon the ingenuous part of mankind? No, it was because these Miracles were wrought publicly by Christ and his Apostles in the view of enemies; and they who attested them did not sit to receive presents and tell tales, but ventured their lives as well as fortunes, to give testimony to the truth of these things; and offered as much satisfaction as sense and reason could require in these matters. But if they had nothing to shew but Tables hanging upon the Walls of their Temples; the Heathens would have told them, they had as good evidence for Miracles among them. For

3. Such *Authentick Testimonies* as these have been among the greatest enemies to Christianity. And I hope *E. W.* will not say that Christianity hath no better proofs than Paganism. If we search but a little into the practices of this nature among the Heathens,

Polyd. Vir-
gil de In-
vent. rer.
l. 5. c. 1.

thens, we shall find that *Polydore Virgil* had reason of his side, when he said this custom of hanging up Tables, was taken from them: among whom nothing was more usual than upon any extraordinary deliverance to set up their *votiva tabulae* in the Temples of those Gods they were most addicted to: some to *Isis*, some to *Neptune*, some to *Æsculapius*, especially in the case of escape from Shipwreck to *Isis* and *Neptune*; and in case of recovery from dangerous diseases to *Isis* or *Æsculapius*.

Lambin in
Horat. l. 1.
Od. 5.

Lambin saith, the very same custom continues still, only instead of the Heathen Gods they do it to the Virgin Mary or some Saint. This custom is mentioned not only by *Horace*, but by *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Tibullus*, *Juvenal*, *Persius*, and others. And all know the saying of *Dionysius* upon seeing these Tables of those who had made vows and escaped; but what is become saith he, of those who made vows and were drowned?

Cicer. de
Nat. D. or.
l. 3.

And the very same Question may be asked of these modern vows as well as theirs. I shall only mention the Tables of those who had, as they thought, miraculous deliverances from sicknesses; of which kind there are so many in the Tables of *Loreto* and elsewhere.

Dio or. Si-
cul. Hist.
l. 1. p. 22.

It is a remarkable testimony to this purpose which *Diodorus Siculus* gives of *Isis* in Egypt: where he saith of her, That being now advanced

vanced

vanced to immortality, she takes great delight in the cure of men; and that to any who desire her help she manifests her presence to them in sleep (as it is in very many of those of Loreta), and her great readiness to help them. For the proof of which they do not bring Fables as the Greeks do; but the evidence of matters of fact; or undeniable authentick Testimonies. For the whole World bears witness to it by the honors they give her, and the presents they send for the cures they have received. For many have been strangely cured by her help, who have been given over by Physicians, and and many blind and lame have been healed by her. Let E. W. produce more Authentick Testimonies than these are: if he thinks so much credit to be given to these Tables, or any Argument can be drawn from a Catholick reputation, or great presents. Neither was this only in Egypt, but Tibullus mentions the same at Rome too speaking of Isis.

Nunc Dea nunc succurre mihi, nam posse Tibull. l. 1.
mederi Eleg. 3.

Pisa docet templis multa tabella tuis.

The same may be seen in the Temples of Æsculapius, especially that of Epidaurus, of which Strabo speaks, and saith, *It was full* Strabo.
of the Tables of such as had recovered from Geogr. l. 8.
 diseases

*Mercur. de
arte Gym-
nast. l. c. 1.*

*cicero. ast. 6
in c. 1.*

diseases by his help, as likewise were his Temples at Co and Tricca. The like may be observed of the Temple of *Æsculapius* near Rome in the Isle of *Tyber*, of which some of the Tables have been preserved in Rome by the *Mapkai* and are published by *Mercurialis*. And *Cicero* speaking of an Image of *Ceres* at *Enna* in *Sicily*; saith, That many prodigies were done by her, which shewed her power and Divinity; that in many most difficult cases persons have found her help; and not only the *Sicilians* but other Nations flock thither: And that the Statue of *Hercules* was in so great esteem there that his very Chin was worn, with the salutations which were given him; To the same purpose as *Tursellinus* somewhere speaks of the Image at *Loreto*. So that the Arguments drawn from the Tables, from general reputation, and the concurrence of people will equally hold for a Religion directly opposite to Christianity. But we have not followed any cunningly devised Fables, the proofs of our Religion do not depend upon the fraud of Priests, or the superstition and credulity of the people, nor upon any extraordinary accidents and rare occurrences; but the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles were publick and frequent, wrought by their own words while they were conversant among men; not at Shrines or Altars, or in dark and

and obscure places, and only among persons prepossessed before hand with sufficient readiness to believe what ever shall be related as a Miracle. These are the circumstances of the Miracles wrought in the Roman Church, but as vastly different from those of Christ and his Apostles, as light is from darkness, or Truth from uncertain reports, or a well grounded Faith from superstitious credulity. And thus much for *the Authentick Testimonies of Miracles in the sacred House of Loreto.*

§. 4. Having performed one *Pilgrimage*, Of the Miracles wrought by S. James at Compostella. we must begin another to St. *James of Compostella*: and there take notice of the Miracles done at his *Relicks* there. But what if St. *James* have no *Relicks* at all there? What if he never were in *Spain*, how can his *Relicks* there ever then perform any Miracles? But what ever we believe, it is infidelity in *Spain* to question it; it is fit therefore we should have the story as they relate it, who think they should know it best: and it is this, *That James the son of Zebedee having passed through Judea and Samaria came into Spain to Preach the Gospel, and having converted some there, he returned to Hierusalem carrying his Disciples with him; where he was slain by Agrippa, and his Body afterwards*

was carried to Compostella where it is solemnly worshipped by Pilgrims flocking thither from all parts of the World. This is the substance of what the present *Roman Breviary* allows; and is truly more kind to the story than it hath been formerly; for I am much mistaken, if *Clement* the 8th. did not insert into his *Breviary*, That he came into Spain according to the Tradition of that Province. For we must know the Court of Rome hath been very jealous of such pretences as those are of receiving the Faith at first from any of the Apostles, besides *St. Peter* or those sent by him, lest under such a pretence they might one time or other plead for their exemption from the Popes Authority. This made *Cardinal Baronius* so much to set himself against this tradition of *St. James* his Preaching in Spain; and disproves it from the Testimony of *Rodericus Ximenius Archbishop of Toledo*, who in the *Lateran Council* under *Innocent* the third, denied that ever *St. James* came into Spain, and that not unadvisedly; but in a solemn debate between him and the *Bishop of Compostella*. He confesses indeed that when he was a Boy he heard the story of it, but it was only from some Religious women saith *Baronius*, some Nuns and Religious Widows, saith *Rodericus* himself; but as *Baronius* observes, he did not think it

Baron. An.

A. D. 816.

n. 49. 50.

51.

Council Gen.

Tom. 11.

part 1.

p. 236.

worth inserting into his History; and the *Bishop* of *Compostella* could not produce one ancient Author for that tradition, though he came provided to the Council for the managing this debate. Besides, he saith, that the Church of *Compostella* could then boast but of the antiquity of one hundred and nine years, (one hundred wanting nine saith *Baronius*) for then *Pope Calistus* translated the *Bishoprick* of *Merida* to *Compostella*, before which there was only a small Oratory there. To this testimony he adds two Popes *Innocent* the first, and *Gregory* the seventh affirming that *Spain* first received the Faith from *Rome*. But the present *Breviary* hath excellently accommodated this difference; by making *seven* of *St. James his Disciples* to be ordained by *St. Peter* at *Rome* and thence sent into *Spain*. This it is to serve a turn, though it be without the least pretence from Antiquity! But now is not this tradition of *St. James* his being in *Spain* confirmed by undeniable and Authentick Testimonies?

What shall we say then to the *Miracles* wrought by him? For we are to consider although the story be so lean and bare in the present *Breviary*, yet the learned and worthy *Arch-bishop St. Antonin* (besides others) have it much improved. For he tells us, how *Antonin.*
St. James after his return to *Judea*, was much *Chron.*
opposed PART I.
c. 7. Tit. 6.

opposed by Hermogenes a Magician who sent his Disciple Philetus to confound him: (we must never ask from whence they had this story it is fully enough that the name of Hermogenes and Philetus are in the New Testament.) Well, Philetus becomes a Disciple of St. James, at which Hermogenes was so enraged that he enchanted him so that he could not move. Now we will see, saith he, if St. James can release you. Philetus sends word to St. James, who sent him his handkerchief and by that was released. Hermogenes commands the Devils to bring St. James and Philetus both bound to him; when they came near him the Devils cried out they were bound by Angels of Heaven and beg'd St. James to release them; he did so, and commanded them to bring Hermogenes bound, which they immediately did with his hands tyed behind him; and then St. James bid Philetus unbind him; at which Hermogenes was desirous to turn Christian; but being afraid of the Devils he craved S. James his assistance, who lent him his walking staff; and so he became his Disciple. Is not this now like one of the Apostles Miracles to give men instruments for the cudgelling of Devils? But this Miracle for all that, hastened St. James his end; for Abiathar the High-Priest (where are we now? For I remember

member no *Abiathar* High Priest since the days of King *Solomon*; but it is no matter for such a slender mistake as that:) raised a commotion among the people, and brought him to Herod who beheaded him, upon the day in which Christ was incarnated and suffered, one whole year being passed. That's well again; it seems St. *James* in a years time, preached through *Judea* and *Samarria*, and went into *Spain* and returned to *Judea* and was there beheaded by *Herod*. But St. *James* suffered the same year, that St. *Peter* was delivered out of Prison, which by the consent of their own Writers, was not till the second year of *Claudius*. A pretty long year from the eighteenth of *Tiberius* according to *Baronius*, to the second of *Claudius*! To pass by *Jostus the Scribes* suffering together with St. *James*; (which the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, by reason of the insufficiency of Scripture, take no notice of) we are to understand, that the Disciples of St. *James*, (being then so much at leisure to attend the Corpse of their Master so long a journey) took away his body and carried it to the Sea-side where they found a small Vessel lying ready (no matter to whom it belonged) into this they entred and committing themselves to Gods providence and the mercy of the Sea; they came safe to the Coast

of Spain, and entering the City of Compostella they there buried his body in a Church erected to his honour (no matter by whom for all St. James his Disciples went away with him.) yet this was not easily performed, for there was one Queen Lupa in the Country at that time; (how a Queen in a Roman Province! but doubtless she was some Roman Lady, for I think *Romulus* his Nurse was of that name.) And there were miracles to be wrought to convince her to give way to his burial. Here St. Antonin gives over; but others are so kind as to tell us what the miracle was which convinced Queen Lupa: I shall not so much as once mention the author of the *Golden Legend* (though a person that highly merited of the Church of Rome in his time;) having so much better Authorities. No less a man than John Beletb (a grave Doctor of the Sorbon, a man of great learning saith Trithemius, and excellent at confounding Hereticks saith Laurimanus) who gives this account of it, that Queen Lupa cast these men into prison, but being miraculously delivered thence she proposed this condition to them; that if they would take such Oxen as she should give them, they should carry the body whither they pleased. But she designed only to put a trick upon them, the Oxen being very wild and unruly; but she

Beletb de
divinis of-
ficiis c. 140.

she was over-reached in all her cunning, for they only made the sign of the Cross over the Oxen and they were as quiet as Lambs: and they carried the body to the place appointed, and without any driver went back to the Queens Palace and staid not till they came to the very middle of it; at which miracle Queen Lupia was turned into a Lamb and turned her Palace into a Church. Is not this now a miracle as great and as well attested, as any wrought by Christ or his Apostles? The first part of this story about *Hermogenes* and *Abi-* Portiforium secundum usum sacrum Julii 25.
ather the High-Priest, was solemnly read here in England on the twenty fifth of *July* as part of the lessons of the day: and the later confirmed by *Vincentius* in his history. *Bivarius* Vincent. spec. histor. l. 8. c. 7.
cites about twenty Spanish Breviaries that mention *St. James* his coming into *Spain*; but whether with the relation of these miracles I know not. *Mariana* in his history, Bivarii Comment. in Dextri Chronic. A. D. 36.
finds no argument for his coming into Spain but the tradition of the people, which he was unwilling to contradict. It's true, in a Mariana de rebus Hisp. l. 4. c. 6.
discourse on purpose he goes about to defend this tradition, as well as he could; but yet confesses there is a wonderful silence in all ancient Writers about St. James his coming into Spain, and his bodie being at *Compostella*; Mariana de Adventu Jacobi c. 3.
both in the Chronicon Alveldense above 600. years old, in the Chronicon of Alphonsus
the

the great above 700. years old; in *Isidorus Pacensis*, *Sampirus Asturicensis*, nay in the ancient history of *Compostella* it self, there is not a word of *St. James* his coming into *Spain*: in his answer to this argument he confesses *they have no histories come near that time, and therefore it is no wonder they should not mention it*; but upon what grounds came it afterwards to be believed then, if they have no testimony of ancient time to confirm it? For *Baronius* lays down an excellent rule as to these matters; *whatever is delivered by later Authors concerning matters of Antiquity, and is not confirmed by the Authority of some ancient Writer is condemned*. And by this rule in all these matters, let us stand or fall. *But supposing St. James never were in Spain, yet his Reliques might be carried thither, and work miracles there?* No one questions the possibility of the thing, but the reason of believing it, and we have hitherto seen very little for one or the other. *Baronius*, whose zeal carried him no farther than the Popes interest, is willing enough to allow then the *Body* of *St. James* at *Compostella*: and that it was carried from *Jerusalem* thither, but yet, he saith, *the memory of it was quite lost, as he proves by Venantius Fortunatus*: till at last it was discovered by a *miraculous light* in the time of *Alphonfus Castus*.

Baron An-
nal. n. 12.

Baron. An-
nal. A D.
816. n. 52,
53.

Castus. But what was discovered by that light? a Body buried among bushes and thorns? and what then? must this needs be St. James his Body and none else? What characters were there upon it, which might discover it more plainly than the light did? No inscription on it is alledged; but after all *Baronius* thinks, *there is no need to prove that which is so abundantly attested by the miracles there wrought.* Proceed we then to the examination of these miracles, of which *Pope Callistus* the second wrote a whole Book, which *Mariana* saith he saw entire, but by what is preserved of it, we may judge it was a very worthy one, and that the miracles there wrought deserve to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles. He tells us, *that from a Child he loved St. James of Compostella, and spent fourteen years in going from place to place to learn his miracles, and that he put them together in loose papers which were miraculously preserved among thieves, in prison, in water, in fire, and at last by a vision was confirmed that his work was pleasing to God: therefore he desires that no body would despise his Work, for whatever is written in it is Authentick and confirmed by great Authority; and decrees that the miracles should be read in the Refectories on Festival days.* He could not have

*Mariana de
Advantu
Jacobi c. 12.*

*Vincen.
sp. c. Hist.
l. 26. c. 30.*

have decreed better, for in truth they are an excellent entertainment.

C. 33.

In A. D. 1090. saith *Calixtus*, certain Germans were going to St. James, and in the City of Tholouse, they were made drunk by their Host, who put two silver Cups into the Portmantues of two of them: next morning he ran after them and cried Thieves; they knowing their own innocency desired to be examined; the Cups were found in the Portmantues of Father and Son: the Judge determined that but one of them should be hanged, and after much complementing between them the Son was executed; the Father goes on his Pilgrimage, and after thirty six days returning by the place he goes to the body of his Son, and there wept bitterly over him. On a sudden his Son began to comfort him, and said, O my Father weep not, but rejoyce, for I never was so well in my whole life. For to this time St. James hath supported me, and comforted me with Heavenly pleasure; at which his Father being overjoyed ran to the City, and the people flocking thither took him down safe and sound, and hanged up the Host in his Room. Was our Saviours raising *Lazarus* after only four days, to be compared to this?

Ibid.

In the year 1100. a certain French man, avoiding the mortality then in France, resolved

ved to go in Pilgrimage with his Wife and Children to St. James of Compostella; at Pampelona his Wife dyed and the Host seized upon his Beast and his Mony. The man went on however with his Children; and at the Towns end one meets him with an Ass which he lends him to carry his Children. When he was come to Compostella one night as he was praying St. James appeared to him and asked him if he knew him; he told him no; then he said I am James the Apostle who met thee at Pampelona and lent thee my Ass; and now I lend him thee home again, and I tell thee thou shalt find thy Host dead, which happened accordingly, and as soon as ever he took his Children off from the Ass he disappeared. This is an instance of his kindness by Land, but Calixtus tells us he was as kind by Sea too.

Witness the Sea Captain that tumbled to ^{C. 34.} the bottom of the Sea with his armour on, to whom St. James there appeared and taking him by the hand, brought him safe to his ship again.

Witness the Pilgrim that fell into the Sea, ^{C. 35.} whom St. James held by the hair of his head, and kept him above water for three days till he came to his Port,

These were pretty odd things at Sea, but *ibid.* if we come to Land again, what shall we think

think of his making a man leap from a Tower forty cubits high without any hurt?

c. 36. Nay, which is a much greater and a more courteous miracle, what shall we say to a high Tower *floping to the ground that a man might go off without any danger from a leap?* yet this is related by the same Pope to have happened A. D. 1106.

These are pleasant tastes of the kind of St. James his miracles related by no meaner a person than the Head of the Roman Church: but these are too luscious to be insisted on.

c. 41. Only for a warning that men should observe his Feast, he saith, *that a Country man in Spain presuming to thresh on that day, and at night going into a Bath, the skin of his back parts from his shoulders to his thighs, went off from him and stuck to the Wall, and so the poor man died for an example.*

If these things do not prove that the miracles wrought by St. James at *Compostella*, are equal to those wrought by Christ and his Apostles in *Judea*, truly I do not know what will.

Of St. Mary Magdalene's Vial and other Reliques.

§. 5. We must now proceed to the *Vial of St. Mary Magdalen and the Church of St. Maximin in France: into which she put the Blood of our Saviour which visibly boyls up every year on the day of our Saviours Passion.*

It would astonish a man to see such fopperies as these are, compared with the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. If they had done no more than shewed such tricks to convince the world, it might have remained under Paganism to this day. The miracles wrought by Christ or his Apostles tended to the great benefit and advantage of mankind, and were not cunningly managed in a corner; for a solemn shew at a certain season of the year; but the gift of healing the sick and the gift of tongues, in which consisted chiefly the Testimony God gave to his Apostles, were things of real advantage to the world and lay open to the observation of every one. But the world is apt to suspect and not without reason, these useless and secret miracles; if they be true they signify no good to the world, if they be false they do unspeakable mischief to Religion. Our Saviours Blood was never shed to shew tricks with, and *Mary Magdalen* was hardly at leisure at our Saviours passion to gather up his Blood as it dropt from him. But what will not these men say and profess to believe too! Certainly there were never more shameful impostures than about Reliques and Miracles in the Roman Church; and when some of the wiser men of their own communion abroad shake their heads and are ashamed of them; our *S. C's* and

E. W's magnifie them still, as though the people of *England* were as capable of being made Fools as ever. I pity the weakness and credulity of some, but I abhor the hypocrisie and fraud of those, who do not believe these things themselves, and yet would make others believe them. Gentlemen, Religion is a grave and serious thing, and a severe account must be given to God of any thing we say about it; God will never think himself honoured by the falshood and hypocrisie of men; and that Church of all others in the world shall never draw me to its communion which cannot be upheld without abusing mankind, and the most excellent Religion in the world. If you have any miracles to shew, do them as Christ and his Apostles did in the midst of their enemies and upon them too; can you do them for a better end than our conversion? was not this the end God designed miracles for? and how comes he to change his patent among you, with whom they are only done among Friends and in corners: Where they may be shewed with advantage among ignorant people who have no skill in Opticks nor judgement to know the difference between the boyling of a thing from a natural cause and by a miracle. For truths sake, if your Church, hath such a power of miracles as Christ and his Apostles had, never send us

to *Loreto* or *Compostella*, or *St. Maximins Church* in *France*; nor refer us to your *Tables* and *Legends*, those are things in no request among us, whatever they be with you; but we have many sick and wounded persons and many dead; come and cure all manner of diseases with a word, in an instant, perfectly, and openly; raise those who have died of a known incurable disease, and are carried out to be buried or have lain in their Graves as Christ did: or else out of honour to Christ and Truth, and for meer shame avoid such rude and impudent comparisons of the miracles of your Church, with those of Christ and his Apostles. If we must believe *St. Mary Magdalens Vial*; why not as well all the rest of the Glorious Reliques of your Church, for there are few of them, but have as good Authority as that of *Spondanus*, which *E.W.* produces for this Miraculous Vial? Why not the *Foreskin* of Christ about which no meaner a man than *Cardinal Tolet* saith great Tolet in c. 2. Luc. Annot. 31. miracles were wrought at *Calcata* in *Italy* A. D. 1559. after it had been stolen from the Lateran Church in Rome by a certain Soldier A. D. 1527. and lay undiscovered till after his death; and yet Ferrandus tells us, that Germany, Flanders, Lorain and France, all boast that they have it. Hollandus, or rather Roswayd tells us, that those of Antwerp Joh. Ferrandi discip. Reliqui. l. 1. c. 1. sect. 1. Bolland. Acta Sæcto- rum Jan. 1. p. 34. &c.

Hh

pleaded

Innocent.
de Missæ
myster. l. 4.
c. 30.

pleaded a possession of it for almost 500. years; and the testimonies of Pope Eugenius A. D. 1446. and Clement the eighth A. D. 1599.. Pope Innocent the third notwithstanding his pretence to Infallibility thought it fit that so weighty a cause should be left to God himself to determine. Symphorianus Campegius in Bollandus, saith, that it is at Anicium (le Puy) in France together with Aarons Miter; others say, that it was carried by an Angel to Charles the great, and he placed it at Aken. Now the same worship is given at all these places where it is supposed to be, and I suppose miracles equally wrought at them. I desire to know when false and counterfeit Reliques do work miracles, what we are to think of the Testimony given by such miracles and of the nature of them? It is a pleasant thing to see the accounts given by these men of the same Reliques being in several places at once. Ferrandus hath found out very subtil ways to solve this difficulty and particularly concerning this Foreskin of Christ. 1. By a multiplication of it; which being in Gods power to do, no question is to be made but he does it. 2. By a wonderful replication of it; the terms I confesse are not very easie, but I suppose he means, that the same body may be in several places at once. He tells us, that

Ferrand.
disq. Reliq.
l. 1. c. 1.
sect. 2.

Snarez

Suarez and Collins see no cause for so great a miracle; but he thinks there is as much reason for it, as for the multiplication of the Wood of the Cross; and I think so too. But yet he hath another reserve, which is, that these several Prepuces are really nothing but so many parts of the Umbilical Vessels, which are sent up and down for the consolation of the faithful. And no doubt they tend very much to it; especially when they mistake one thing for another. And why may not then that which goes for the Blood of Christ be the blood of some other person; especially since the blood of Christ is shewn in so many other places besides? But that we may not however doubt of the truth of both these, St. Brigit saith in her Revelations, that the Virgin Mary told her that a little before her assumption she committed the Sacred Prepuce to the care of St. John, with some of the Blood which remained in the wounds of Christ. Et jam liceat dubitare? Saith Ferrandus: by no means. But it is good to understand where it is. Yet he tells us, some are of opinion, that there is no other blood of Christ upon earth, besides that in the Eucharist: and others that all the blood of Christ which was shed in his passion, was resumed at his resurrection, and therefore he rather inclines to think, it is some of the blood he shed in his

*Brigit Re-
vel. i. 6.*

*Ferrand. .
l. 2. c. 1.
sect. 1.*

Agony, which is preserved in so many places. But was St. *Mary Magdalen* there with her Vial to gather it up? No, it is said, it was at the time of his Passion and therefore this answer cannot serve. How then come such great quantities of this Blood to be seen? not only in St. *Maximins* Church but at *Paris*, at *Rome*, at *Mantua*, and several other places mentioned by *Ferrandus*. To this, he answers with *Biel* that *Christ* had a whole legion of wounds 6666. and *Alanus de Rupe* hath undertaken to cast up just how many drops he shed viz. 547500. And can there be any reason in the world to question the credibility of the Testimonies of such persons who are so exact and punctual in their calculations? Far be it from us in the least to derogate from that inestimable love which the Son of God expressed in shedding his Blood as a Sacrifice of Propitiation for us. We adore, and celebrate that sacred mysterie of our Redemption by the Blood of that immaculate Lamb. It is the Blood of Christ we glory in and hope for Salvation by; but not as kept for Reliques, or preserved in Vials to make a shew of; much less to abuse mankind with a pretence of that Sacred Blood, when there is not the least shadow of reason to believe it.

But thus it hath been in the Church of Rome, they have turned the most wise and holy and reasonable Religion in the world into a matter of shew and ceremony. And for this end they have made use of all manner of devices to get any thing into their hands, that seemed to have any relation to the bodies, or garments of Christ, or his Disciples. And thus while they sleight their words, and corrupt their Doctrine, and pervert their institutions ; no persons can contend more than they for the hair, or nails that belonged to any of their bodies, although they destroy each others Testimonies, by so many pretending to the same things. The very *Tears* of Christ are pretended to be kept in two several places in *France* : and those put into a Vial too by the blessed Virgin, if we believe the *Jesuit Ferrandus*. It is a pretty competent *Disf. Reliq.* Miracle to preserve Tears so long : but what *l. 1. c. 2.* cannot they shew, *sect. 2.* who have some of the hair of Christ, when an Infant, at St. Denis in France as *Spondanus* assures us, and some *Spond. A. 1. 2.* of the swadling clouts he was wrapt in, in *1205. n. 1.* the Manger ? And as good an Author every whit as *Spondanus*, relates that at *Courcheverni* a place near *Bloys* the breath of *Joseph* is kept in a Vial too, which the Angel took *Molinai. hyperaspist.* while he was cleaving Wood. What a *c. 18.* shame would it be now for us to question the truth

Ferrand.
l. i. c. 2.

ibid.

l. i. c. 1.
sect 4.

truth of any other Relicks among them ? Why should we dispute the vast quantity of the *blessed Virgins Milk*, so learnedly defended by *Ferrandus* ? to be seen in *Judea*, in *Italy*, in *Spain*, and in many places in *France*. What doubt can be made of the *several Locks of her Hair* ? For although they believe her Body assumed up into Heaven ; yet no doubt, saith *Ferrandus*, by frequent combing enough would fall off to furnish the *several Churches* in *Rome*, in *Spain*, in *France*, and other places, with it. What if so many places pretend to have the *true Seamless Coat of Christ* ? is it possible, they should be any of them mistaken, although there could be but one true one ? For it is a very weak defence of *Ferrandus* to say, that there were many made after the likeness of the true one ; for all places contend that they have the true. It were endless to give an account of multitudes of other Relicks, which *Ferrandus* confesses to be equally challenged by many places ; and which he pitifully defends by such shifts, as these are.

But it is not enough to shew in general that there can be no sufficient credibility in the Testimony given to the *Relicks* of the Roman Church ; but I shall now shew it more particularly concerning this *Vial* of *St. Mary Magdalen*. This *Vial* is supposed to be of her own

own bringing into *France*, and it is worth the while to know how she came thither.

Thus the story is related in the *Roman Breviary*. After *Christs Ascension to Heaven*, Martha with her Sister Mary, (whom they suppose to be *Mary Magdalen*) and with her Brother Lazarus and their servant Marcella; and Maximinus one of the seventy Disciples of our Lord with many other Christians were put into a Ship by the Jews without any Sail or Oars, that they might perish by Shipwrack: but by the Providence of God the Ship came safe to *Marseilles*: by which Miracle and Preaching the inhabitants of *Marseilles* and of *Aix*, and the neighbour people were converted: and Lazarus was made Bishop of *Marseilles*, and Maximinus of *Aix*. But Mary Magdalen having accustomed her self to prayer and a contemplative life, retired into a hollow Cave of a very high Mountain; where she continued thirty years, separated from all conversation with men, and every day was carried up by Angels, to hear the Choir of Angels Sing. This is contained in the fourth and fifth Lessons on *July 29.* in the present *Roman Breviary*: but we are to consider that this story was not always in the *Roman Breviary*; for those who reformed it under *Pius* the fifth had left it out; but since it hath been thought fit to be restored again;

*Joh. Launoij
de Commen-
titio Lazari
& Maximi-
ni, Marthe
& Magda-
lena in Pro-
vinciam ap-
pulsu opuscu-
la. Parisi
1660.*

*Vincent.
spec. li. 2.
l. 9. c. 94.*

it being much for the edification of the people, to hear such *Legends*. For there is not the least pretence in Antiquity for any part of it, as a Learned Doctor of the *Sorbon* hath at large proved, shewing in a set Discourse that for a thousand years after Christ it was the constant tradition of the *Greek* and *Latin Church*, that *Lazarus*, *Martha*, and *Magdalen*, all dyed in the *Eastern parts*, and not a word said of *Maximinus*; that the whole story is taken out of a very fabulous Book, pretended to be Written by *Marcella* the servant to *Martha* in the Hebrew Tongue, and Translated by one *Synthex* into *Latin*; and preserved by *Vincentius* in his History. It may not be amiss to set down some of the Miracles contained in this story; one is, of the Persons who accompanied them and the places assigned to them, as *Trophimus* was sent to *Arles*, *Paulus* to *Narbon*, *Eutropius* to *Aurange*, *Austregesilus* to *Bourges*, *Irenaeus* to *Lyons*, *Ferrutius* to *Bezancon*, and *Dionysius* is placed over all *France*. Was there ever better company put together? when *Irenaeus* dyed A. D. 205. *Eutropius* A. D. 464. *Austregesilus* A. D. 629. and *Trophimus*, *Paulus*, *Martialis*, *Saturninus*, and *Dionysius* are by the most Learned Writers of *France*, cast back as far as the time of *Decius*: and *Ferrutius* was a Disciple of *Irenaeus*. It would be

too tedious to relate *Mary Magdalens* Preaching at *Marseilles*, (notwithstanding *St. Pauls* prohibition, which the Author saith, *she had not heard of, but as soon as she did, she retired into her Cave*) the manner of the conversion of the Governour of *Marseilles* and his Lady, ^{c. 95.} their going towards *Hierusalem*; her death upon the birth of her Child in the passage; *St. Peters* conducting him to *Hierusalem*, ^{c. 96.} seeing the badge of the Cross on his shoulders; the miraculous education of the Child by sucking the breasts of his dead Mother, who was ^{c. 97.} found by his Father on the shore after two years playing with stones, and running upon ^{c. 98.} all four: the Resurrection of the Mother, their return to *Marseilles*, where they found *Mary Magdalen* Preaching to a multitude of ^{c. 99.} people; the monstrous Dragon tamed by *Martha* with a little holy water and the sign of the Cross; which was thicker than an Oxe, longer than a Horse, had the head of a Lyon, and the strength of twelve Lyons, and was supposed to be of the race of the *Leviathan* mentioned in *Job*, and came by Sea from *Galatia*; being begotten of the *Leviathan*, on a strange beast of that Country, which kills by its scent the length of an acre, and what ever it touches, it burns like fire; these and several other such pleasant Miracles I purposely omit; ^{Lanoy p. 298.} which *Lanoy* calls more than old wives Tales, ^{p. 321.} by

by which Christian Religion is dishonoured, and men are abused; which make the enemies of Christianity despise it, and fill its friends with indignation; to hear so holy a Religion so horribly corrupted by the impudent lies of idle men. But after all these things, thus laid together, can we do otherwise than believe that the Blood of Christ is kept in the Vial of St. Mary Magdalen in the Church of St. Maximin and that it boils up every year on the day of our Saviours Passion?

Of the
Miracles of
S. Dominick.

Antonia
Chron.
part 3.
Tit. 23.
c. 1. lect. 1.

Nicol Jan-
senii vit.
Domini. l. 1.
c. 7.

§. 6. The next thing we are to consider, is, the Miracles recorded in the lives of those two admirable Saints, *B. St. Dominick, and Seraphical St. Francis*. The first Miracle we read of concerning *St. Dominick*, was the miraculous prediction concerning him in the two pictures in *St. Marks Church in Venice*, reported by no meaner a person than *St. Antonin* (*E. W's. pious and learned Arch-bishop of Florence*.) One in the likeness of *St. Paul* with those words over it ἀγὶς παῦλος, and under, these, *Per istum itur ad Christum*, over the other ἀγὶς Δομνίκος, and under *Facilius itur per istum*; it seems *St. Paul* was but a very ordinary Preacher, if compared with the Founder of the order of *Preaching Fryers*. But this prediction did not so plainly set him forth, as the Vision his Mother

Mother had near her time of travel with him,
viz. that she bore a Whelp which carried a Nicol. Jan-
senii vit.
fire-brand in his mouth, which set the whole S. I. Dominiz.
World on Fire; which had its full accom- I. I. c. 1.
 plishment by his being the first Author of Throd. de
 the blessed Inquisition; for he was a true Apoldia
fire brand, having not near so much light as vit. S. D.
 heat in him. *Jansenius* tells us, that he had I. I. a. 7. d.
 no kind of mercy upon Hereticks; that he Surim
 was rather a Lyon than a man in his carriage Aug. 5.
 towards them. And was not this a fit person Bycu. Rom.
 to be compared with our blessed Saviour? as Aug. 4.
 he is most blasphemously, by *E. W's. most* lect. 4.
modest Prelate Antonin, wherein he is fol- Janfen.
 lowed by *Jansenius.* They might as well Commentar.
 have compared Light and Darknes, tender- ad vit.
 ness and cruelty, a Wolf and a Lamb toge- S. Dom.
 ther. But the most blasphemous comparison p. 252.
 of all others is that which *St. Katharine* of Anconin.
Siena said she had by Revelation from God, Chrov. p. 3.
 and is repeated after her, by *Lewis* of *Grana-* Tit. 23. c. 1.
da and *Jansenius,* *viz. That she saw the Eter-* Janfen. vit.
nal Father producing his Son out of his mouth, Dom 1. 2.
and St. Dominick out of his breast. c. 14.
Where-
upon he said to her, my dear Child, thou seest
how I have produced these two Sons, whereof
the one is my Son by Nature, and the other by
Adoption; and so proceeds in an admirable
 comparison between them as *Jansenius* thinks
 it; but we may well use his own words
 though

though with a far different meaning. *Quis
verò hic non miretur ac stupeat ?* For who
can choose but wonder and be astonished at
such horrible blasphemy ? to see a fire-brand
compared in such a manner with the Eternal
Son of God. But what was it, this B. *Do-
minick* did to be thought to come so near to
Christ ? why forsooth, *Christ was laid in a
Manger, and St. Dominick when an Infant
would not lie in his Cradle, but would throw
himself out of it, and lie upon the bare
ground ; when Christ was born, a star ap-
peared to the wise men, and when St. Do-
minick was baptized, his Godmother fancied
she saw a star in his forehead. Christ went
at twelve years old to the Temple, and St. Do-
minick was carried to Church by his Parents
and there left to be instructed.* O admira-
ble comparisons ! But yet further. *St. Do-
minicks Fathers name was Felix, and his
Mothers Joanna ; now Joanna, saith Anto-
nin is as much as full of Grace, and the Angel
in his salutation said to the blessed Virgin.
Ave Maria, gratia plena.* Can any thing
be now plainer than this comparison between
our Saviour and St. *Dominick ? But it may
be, he wrought some special Miracles in which
he came near to Christ.* I shall mention some
of them by which we may make a judgement
of the credibility of the rest. One particu-
lar

lar thing which St. *Antonin* instances in, was St. *Dominicks* power over Devils, and in truth he was very extraordinary in this. *Janſenius* hath already put together several instances to my hands. It seems the Devil used to trouble him in several shapes; but he was never more vexed with him, than when he flew up and down while he was Preaching to the Sisters (so my Author calls them) in the shape of a *Sparrow*. He perceiving the Devils cunning, called to Sister *Maximilla* to catch him and deliver him to him. She did so, who had no sooner got him into his hands but he falls to the pulling him crying out still *Enemy, Enemy*. Till at last he left not a Feather upon him, and then insulted over him and bid him fly now if he could. The poor Sparrow hop'd up and down till at last he got under a Brass Lamp before the Altar of the blessed Virgin, and down he tumbles that: when behold a mighty Miracle, the Lamp hanging by a Chain fell not to the ground, and which was more, not a drop of oyl spilt; but at St. *Dominicks* command the Lamp was put in its right place; and the Sparrow disappeared. But the Devil was never so abused as when he appeared in the shape of a *Monky*, when St. *Dominick* was writing late at night; and the Devil was shewing Monky-tricks round about him:

Saint

Janſ. ib. l. 2.

c. 10.

Theodoric.

vii. Dom.

l. 3. c. 7.

Saint *Dominick* nodded to him to stand still and hold his Candle for him. The Devil could not yet leave his old tricks, but at last the Candle was almost burnt out; and the Monkys Tees began to burn, then he made a lamentable noise; still St. *Dominick* commanded him by his nod, (for he would not vouchsafe to speak to the Devil) to stand still, which he was fain to do, till his Toe was burnt, and then St. *Dominick* soundly lashed him and sent him going. I would not be thought to pick these things out of *old Legends*, that are disowned by themselves; but I assure the Reader, these things are not only contained in the ancient and approved Writers of St. *Dominick's* life, but in *Nicol. Jansenius* the latest and most elegant of them; whose Book was Printed at *Antwerp* A. D. 1622. And he further tells us, that the Devil finding no good was to be done this way, was resolved to set upon him by main force; and finding him once so intent on Prayers that no noise would disturb him, he takes a huge stone from the top of the Church and throws it at his head, but hit only his Cowle. But when he saw he could not stir him with all this, he went sneakingly away. *This happened*, he saith, *in the Church of St. Sabina, where the stone is still to be seen, and is of the bigness of a great Holland Cheese*, saith *Jansenius*,

Jansenius, and as black as pitch. One time, the Devil came to him to confession, but St. *Dominick* presently smelt him out, and so rated him that he sent him away speedily to Hell. If he met with possessed persons he had a trick that he could make them confess what he had a mind to. For we are to understand, that the blessed Virgin among many singular favours she had shewed to St. *Dominick* had taught him such a way of praying, as was never known before, the most effectual against Devils and all sorts of enemies that could be : which is sometimes called the *Psalter* of the *blessed Virgin*, sometimes only the *Rosary* consisted of one hundred and fifty *Ave Marys*, and fifteen *Pater Nosters*. This excellent device was revealed to him, after his Body had had three days conversation with Bryers and Thorns in the Woods near *Toulon* when the blessed Virgin, saith *Alanus de Rupe*, commended it to him as the most effectual means to reform the World ; and therefore commanded him to Preach and inculcate this in all places. As soon as ever he began to Preach it up, it is not to be thought how the Devils were alarm'd at it; strange Thunders and Lightenings, and Earthquakes immediately happened upon it. St. *Dominick* goes on, and at last the Devils were heard to cry out through the Air, *Wo, wo to us, we are bound*

Alanus de Rupe de dignit. Psal.

c. 3.

Genon. Chronicon. Deipara A. D.

1213.

Bzov. A.

1213. n. 9.

bound by this Psalter with chains of Fire. St. Dominick having thus found out what would hamper the Devils, he made use of it upon occasion, for finding a person possessed with several Devils, he ties the *Rosary* of Beads about his neck, and then made the Devils confess what he pleased; and at last they acknowledged *that no man that continued in the use of the Rosary could go to Hell*. Upon this he bids the people fall to their *Rosary*, and at every *Ave Maria*, a Devil went out from the person as black as a Coal. Was ever anything like this done by Christ or his Apostles? No, I confess they understood nothing of the miraculous virtue of the *Rosary*, that was reserved for a new discovery to help these latter Ages of the World. We read only of *their casting out Devils by Fasting and such Prayer* as Christ instructed them in, but they were to seek in the way of tying Beads about their necks, or exorcising with one hundred and fifty *Ave Marys*. But all the vertue of this admirable *Rosary* doth not lie only in tormenting Devils,; for very extraordinary things are reported of it in another way. *BZOVIVS* saith, *That a Lady in Spain being carried prisoner into Africa, and there put to lie in among the Cattel, falls to the Rosary of the blessed Virgin, and presently the blessed Virgin appeared* and

*Janſen. l. 1.
c. 5.*

*BZOV. An-
nals A. D.
1213. A. 10.*

and performed the office of a Midwife to her ; and Christ in the habit of a Priest came and baptized the Child ; not long after an Angel came and invited her to the Churching, and led her to an unknown Church with St. Anne and St. Magdalen, the blessed Virgin being present , and Christ again in person performed the office. Are not these fit things to be inserted in Ecclesiastical Annals ? But something must be allowed to *Exovius* for the honour of St. *Dominick* and the *Rosary* invented by him.

He that can believe all these Miracles already reported of St. *Dominick* need not stick at any of the rest, as his Books being preserved dry in the midst of the water , his walking dry in the midst of storms, his raising forty Englishmen out of the water at *Tholouse*, his blessing a Cup of Wine so that it served one hundred and four persons and not a drop of it missing, his turning the Worm that came out of the Womans breast at *Rome* into a rich Jewel, his raising the Cardinals Nephew from the dead, his being lifted up from the ground at his devotion ; he that sees sufficient reason to believe the reporters of these things upon their bare words, must rest satisfied that St. *Dominick* wrought Miracles.

Of the
Miracles of
St. Francis.

Wadding
Annales
Min. A.
1210. n. 36.

Wadd. ib.
n. 25 Id. A.
1213. n. 43

§. 7. But the Seraphical St. *Francis* did not come much behind him in this pretended gift of working Miracles. I do not find that he had such a power over Devils as St. *Dominick* had; but however he did wonderful things in his way. It seems St. *Francis* himself was not so terrible to Devils as Br. *Juniper* was; for St. *Francis* used to threaten the Devils, that if they would not go out of persons, *he would bring Br. Juniper to them*; at whose name they presently flew away, saith *Wadding*. For they had so great a consternation upon them at the approach of *Juniper*, that a possessed person perceiving at a quarter of a miles distance his coming towards him, ran away for seven miles together crying and howling; as the same grave and late Author relates. Yet one time the Devil, who owed him a spight, was like to have been too hard for him; when he was condemned to be hanged for a Spy; and was upon the Rack, and there confessed himself a Traytor, but by good fortune the *F. Guardian*, espying him and knowing his simplicity, (for *Wadding* confesses he was commonly accounted a Fool) procured his release. But the Devil (if the *Franciscans Annalist* may be credited) was not so much afraid of coming near St. *Francis*, for finding him once in the Cave of

Monte

Monte d'Alverno, he was like to have tumbled him down headlong from thence, had not the Rock miraculously yielded to his hands, so that he left the impression of his fingers in the place he laid hold on; which faith *Wadding* were to be seen many years after, but were at last cut away; for fear any person should go thither to confute him. But although *St. Francis* had not that power over him that goes about like a roaring *Lion*; yet he had an extraordinary power over a devouring *Wolf*, as appears by the story of his miraculous conversion by him: *Wadding* relates the story very briefly, having a mind to be at the end of it; but he agrees in substance with the rest, and refers us particularly to the *Speculum vite Sti Francis*, wherein it is related at large; in short, it is this, there was a terrible *Wolf* not far from *Eugubium*, that spared neither man nor beast, which kept the people in so much fear, that they durst not stir out of the gates of the City. *St. Francis* moved with a pious zeal not to kill but to convert this *Wolf*, out he goes at the gates of the City, with no other Armour than what he could presently make with his fingers, viz. the sign of the Cross; the people were got upon the tops of their Houses to see the issue of this encounter: the *Wolf* comes with open mouth towards him,

*Id. A. 1222.
x. 18, 19.*

*Speculum
vite S. Fra.
l. 1. c. 76.*

Spaelberch.
not in *specu-*
culum Fran-
cisc.

St. Francis presently shuts his mouth with the sign of the Crois (see here saith *Spaelberch* the wonderful vertue of the sign of the Crois) After this *St. Francis* comes to parly with the Wolf in a familiar manner, and says to him *Brother Wolf, I command thee in the name of Christ that thou hurt neither me nor any one else*; Upon which he immediately falls on the ground in the posture of a penitent. *St. Francis* takes him to confession, laying open before him the horrid cruelties he had committed; but at last offers terms of agreement between him and the City; the Wolf by the moving of his tail and ears plainly shewed that he understood and accepted his offer. *St. Francis* then tells him he knew he did all this to satisfie his hunger, therefore he would take care he should be provided for, if he would promise he would never hurt any body again. The Wolf bows his head in token of consent; and when *St. Francis* held out his hand to make the bargain sure, the Wolf put his right foot into his hand; (very well understanding the way of contracts). Upon this the Wolf quietly walks along with him towards the City: the people seeing that, flocked in great abundance about him, *St. Francis* makes an excellent Sermon on the occasion, and at last assures them of the conversion of *Brother Wolf*.

Wolf, and acquaints them with the promise he had made for his maintenance; the Wolf renews his promise before them all, as formerly. The People were filled with great joy and the Wolf lived very innocently and neighbourly among them all the rest of his days, and the people much lamented his death. This story I confess I did not expect to have met with any where else than in the *Golden Legend*, or the *ingenious Book of Conformities*; but not only finding it, in other more creditable Authors among them, but inserted into their Books of *Annals* by *Wadding*, and defended by *Hen. Sedulius* who writ an *Apo-*
logy for the Book of Conformities, I thought I had reason to produce it: not knowing but
 that *E.W.* might reckon this among the miracles of *St. Francis*, which might be paralleld with those of Christ and his Apostles.
Cardinal Bonaventure doth not particularly relate the story, but he mentions *his taming of Wolves* among his extraordinary acts; and tells us of *St. Francis* his great kindness to all sorts of creatures calling them *Brothers and Sisters*.

And although Christ and his Apostles thought it enough to preach only to men and women, *St. Francis* his charity was so much beyond theirs, that he preached to *Birds* and *Beasts* as *St. Anthony* of *Padua* his Disciple

*Hm. Sedulii Apolog-
 tic. adversus Alcoran.
 Francis. pro libro confor-
 mit. l. 3.
 c. 29.*

*Bonav. vit.
 S. Franc.
 l. 1 c. 8.
 n. 12.*

Wadding

An. 1212.

n. 29, 30,

31.

did to *Fishes* : and I assure you with no small success. For *Wadding* tells us that St. *Francis* was in dispute with himself, whether it were fitter for him to spend his time in praying or preaching : being in a great perplexity about it, he sends to *Brother sylvester* (the same who saw the Golden Cross come out of St. *Francis* his mouth) and *Sister Clara*, that they should seek God for resolution ; they both agree that he was to Preach, being thus satisfied in his Call, the next morning early he goes towards *Bevagna*, and seeing a place where multitudes of several kinds of Birds were gathered together, he makes hast thither and salutes the Birds as if they had been reasonable creatures. The Birds being big with expectation turned themselves and bowed their heads towards him ; then he admonished them all to hear the word of God, and then said to them. *My Brethren, ye ought to praise your Creator that hath given you Feathers and Wings, and good air, and that provides for you without your care.* At which excellent instructions, the devout Birds stretched out their Necks, and clapt their Wings, opened their Bills, and looked earnestly upon him. Then he walked in the midst of them, and not one of them stirred, till he gave them the blessing and made the sign of the Cross over them, and then they all

all flew away together. Thus *Cardinal Bonaventure* and *Wadding* both gravely relate the story of his first Preaching, after it was revealed that he ought to preach: but that was not all, but they tell us that being returned to his Disciples, he blamed himself for so long neglecting the duty of Preaching to the Birds. From hence he went forward in his work, and the Swallows (not being I suppose at his former Sermon) were very troublesome in making a noise to the disturbance of the Auditory; to whom he thus spake, *Sisters* Bonavent. l. 1. c. 12. n. 4. *swallows, it is now time that I speak; for you have tasted enough already. Hear the word of God, and hold your peace till that be done,* which they presently did; and all the people were astonished at the miracle; as well they might. A Scholar of *Paris*, having heard the fame of this miracle, say the same Authors, and being very much troubled at the chattering of a Swallow, commanded him in the name of *St. Francis* to come to him and hold his peace, which the Swallow immediately did. Another time, as *St. Francis* was passing through the Marshes of *Venice*, he heard a great number of Birds singing pleasantly together, he told his companion, he would go and sing prayers among them; which he did, but because the noise was so great they could not hear prayers, he bid them be

Bonavent.

l. 1. c. 12.

n. 4.

Wadding

A. 1212.

n. 32.

Bonav. l. 1.

c. 8. n. 8.

off singing till he had done. Which they did as readily as if they had made the vow of obedience. But this spirit of devotion did not fall upon the Birds alone; for he instructed a Sheep to attend prayers, which she constantly did kneeling, and bleating before the Altar of the Blessed Virgin, which was her way of saluting her. O, but at the elevation of the Host, she fell down upon her knees, in token of her profound reverence. We need not now wonder at the devout Dog of *Lisbon*, whose story is told with so much circumstance by *Eusebius Nierembergius*, that belonged to a *Cook* of *Lisbon*, and constantly followed the Sacrament wherever it went; and could by no means be drawn off from his attendance; and not only so, but would let no persons be quiet, if they did not pay their devotion to the Sacrament. I think it would be a hard case to determine whether *St. Francis* his Sheep, or the *Lisbon Dog*, or *St. Anthony's Mule* had the greatest devotion to the Host: it is certain they were all very extraordinary in their severy kinds. But it was not only such mild creatures as Sheep that were thus obedient to *St. Francis*, but being once to preach at *Trevi* in the market place, the young Fole of an Ass ran up and down and very much disturbed him; at last *St. Francis* with a pleasing Countenance

Euseb. Nieremb. hist. natur. l. 9. c. 94.

nance said to him, *Brother As,* I desire thee ^{Wadding}
 to stand still and not interrupt the word of ^{As. 1213.}
 God which I am now Preaching to this thirsty ^{n. 6.}
 people :

Upon which the As (moved belike
 to see the humility of this good man in own-
 ing his poor kindred) fell upon his knees and
 heard the Sermon quite out. Was any mi-
 racle like these ever done by Christ or his
 Apostles ? But did St. Francis work no other
 kind of miracles ? Yes we are told of many
 more, and of another nature, but they are all
 delivered by the same persons, and upon the
 same credit ; so that if we believe some up-
 on their words, we ought to take all ; if we
 reject some and take others, we believe not
 upon their testimony ; but our own judge-
 ment. One thing more is so remarkable that
 we ought not to omit it, viz. that St. Anto-
 nin applying that place of the Psalms to him, ^{St. Anton?}
he sits upon the Cherubim and rides upon the ^{Chron. Tom.}
wings of the wind ; makes it plain from thence, ^{3. tit 24.}
 that St. Francis being above the *Cherubim*,
 was of the order of *seraphim* (for which rea-
 son, or for none E. W. calls him *the Scra-*
phical St. Francis) and to make this out, they
 tell us, that he appeared in a *Chariot of Fire*
 among his Disciples ; but what was more mi-
 raculous, he and his *Brother Massaw* going ^{Wadding}
 to Preach, he was so set on fire with zeal ^{As. 1210.}
 and devotion that he seemed to cast flames ^{n. 25.}
 out

Speculum
Francis. l. 2.
c. 35.

Wadding
A. 1215.
B. 12.

Speculum
Francis. l. 1.
c. 89.

Speculum
Francis. l. 2.
c. 34.

Wadding
A. 1237.
B. 5.

out of his mouth; and called his Br. *Massens* to him crying A. a. a. with the force of which breath *Frier Massens* was carried up into the air many cubits, saith *Wadding*. Nay it was no extraordinary thing with St. *Francis* himself to be so raised up, for *Frier Leo* who was permitted to be with him in his retirement to *Monte d'Alverno*, found him sometimes so high in the air in a rapture, that he could just kiss his feet; sometimes up to the middle of the trees, and sometimes so high that he could hardly discern him; (especially in a dark night.) But the most glorious miracle of St. *Francis* was that of the *bleeding wounds of Christ* in his *side*, and *hands*, and *feet*: as to which it is observable, that they were so wonderfully concealed, that no man could ever fully discern them in his life time; only *Frier Ruffin* once thought he spied the *wound* in his *side*. And although many ways were used to convince men of the truth of these wounds after his death; yet none there was none like that of the Image of St. *Francis*, for to convince a certain *Frier*, from the mark of the wound in his *side* fresh blood was seen to run, from which time he most firmly believed them. And can we think that St. *Thomas* his putting his hands into the wounds of our Saviours *side*, was half so strong an evidence of the truth of Christs resurrection,

urrection, as the bleeding of an Image was of the wounds of St. *Francis*? No, no, although a Body may deceive, a Picture cannot. Are not these now doughty miracles and attested with such uncontrollable evidence, that they ought to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles?

§. 8. Before I dispatch this first head in shewing upon what uncertain reports miracles are received and believed in the Roman Church; I shall give an account of some of them nearer home, by which we may judge how far the Miracles boasted of by *E. W.* ought in point of credibility to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles. I hope none will deny that there are some bounds to be set to our belief of reports concerning miracles: for although Gods omnipotency hath no bounds, yet we are not to think that God doth equally imploy his power in all things, nor at all times, nor as often as men shall please to say he doth it. In many cases it is very hard to determine the farthest extent of the power of nature; and punctually to shew what is a miracle and what not; for the power of meer natural causes may lie secret and hidden from us; yet from a continual observation of the course of nature a certain sphere may be fixed, within which

Of the
miracles
related of
the *British*
and *Irish*
Saints.

the

the effects of nature are contained. As that a body being once truly dead, cannot of it self come to life again; that there are some diseases at such a height as to be incurable by natural means; in these cases the raising of such a body to life, the curing of such diseases being done frequently, publicly, and in an instant are great arguments of a miraculous and divine power. And this we say was the case of the miracles of Christ and his Apostles: but from hence men ought not to abuse mankind; and because the power of God is unlimited, therefore to say that the most extravagant, foolish and idle imaginations of men, because they have passed without proof for miracles among credulous people, must still be received for such. For is it reasonable that because we believe that nothing is impossible with God, therefore we must not question that so many Saints walked with their heads off, or did such extravagant things as the makers of the *lives* of the *Saints* tell us? For it was not only *St. Denis* of *France* of whom that is reported; but our own Ecclesiastical stories will acquaint us with many other Instances of a like nature. So Mr. *Cressy* tells us of *St. Justinian* the martyr, that when his head was cut off, his body presently rose, and taking the head between the two arms, went down to the

Cressy's
Church-
History,
Book II.
c. 8. n. 35.

SEA

Sea shore, and walking thence on the Sea
 passed over to the port called by his name;
 and being arrived in the place where a Church
 is now built to his memory, he fell down, and
 was there buried by St. David with admir-
 able hymns and canticles. So the same grave
 historian relates of St. Osiha, that as soon as Book 17.
c. 15. n. 5.
 her head was cut off, her body presently rose
 and taking up the head in the hands by the
 conduct of Angels walked firmly the straight
 way to the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul
 about a quarter of a mile distant from the
 place of her suffering, and when it was come
 there, it knocked at the door with the bloody
 hands, as desiring that it might be opened,
 and thereon left marks of blood. Having
 done this, it fell there down to the ground.
 To the same purpose he tells of St. Clarus, Book 17.
c. 3. n. 7.
 whose head being cut off presently after arose,
 and with his hands taking up his head, by
 the assistance of Angels, carried it to a foun-
 tain not far distant, into which he cast it:
 and then carried the same back to the Orato-
 ry of his Cell, and going on a little further
 towards a Village seated near the River Epta,
 he there consummated his course, and transmit-
 ed his blessed soul to Heaven. And of St. De-
 cumanus he writes, that when his head was Book 11.
c. 3. n. 6.
 cut off from his Body, the trunk raising it self
 up took the head which it carried from the
 place

Book 23.
c. 9. n. 8.

Capgrav.
F. 228. 1.

place where he was slain to a spring not far
of, which flowed with a most Christalline wa-
ter, in which with the hands it washed the
blood away. So St. Juthwara with her own
hands took up her head being cut off, and to
the astonishment of all, (*as we may easily
imagine,) carried it back steadily into the
Church. These are pretty good instances for
one that takes it so ill that his History should
be called the *great Legend*. What can be ima-
gined more absurd, and be supposed to be
done to less purpose than such foppish mira-
cles as these? But I extremely wonder at his
niceness in omitting some others of a like na-
ture delivered by a late infallible Author cal-
led *Oral Tradition*: As St. Maxentia's being
beheaded and carrying her head in her hands,
for which Capgrave quotes nothing less than
infallible Oral Tradition; for, saith he, *faithful*
people have received this from their Fathers
by certain tradition. And have their late
men better any argument than this for transub-
stantiation, invocation of Saints, &c. Why
forsooth, can it be imagined that Fathers
should go about to deceive their Children?
did not they who saw it know the truth of
what they saw? would not they speak truth
to their Children? how, could then any er-
rour or mistake come into the belief of the
faithful. None certainly. Why then it is a
demonstration

demonstration, that St. Maxentia did after her head was cut off from her body carry it in her hands. Can any thing be more demonstrative than this? And by the same arguments we are assured, that the Head of St. Melorus being cut off, out of great pity to Cerialtanus his murtherer, being in a great thirst, bad him thrust his staff into the ground, and he should immediately see a spring to arise thence, with which he might plentifully quench his thirst. Was not the head of this Saint very charitable and kind to his murtherer? Now this, which was a principal part of the story Mr. Cressy seems in a very sullen humour to leave out; although he takes the rest from Capgrave; of which I can only give this account, (for I have no reason to question Mr. Cressy's faith or good will;) that Alford from whom he translates his history, only refers to Capgrave, and doth not relate enough for Mr. Cressy to make up the Legend. The like omission he is guilty of about another miracle concerning him, viz. that when by the command of his Uncle his right hand and left foot were cut off; and he had a silver hand and brass foot framed for him; (as Mr. Cressy confesseth) Capgrave adds, that he could move the fingers and open and shut his hand as if it had been made of nerves, and flesh, and bones; but this likewise is left out in

Alford An-
nales Eccles.
A. D. 411.
n. 5.

Cressy's
Church-
History
Book 2.
c. 26. n. 3.

in *Alford*, from which it appears how faithfully Mr. *Cressy* kept to his Author. Upon the same reason, I suppose, he omits, *St. Paternus* his calling to his man when he was dead, and he saw his head cut off before his eyes; but behold a miracle, the head answered to him, *Here I am sir*, at which the Saint finding out the head and joyning it to the body, it presently arose safe and sound. It is not to be thought that Mr. *Cressy* did question the latter part of it, who at large relates the miracle of *St. Winifred's head being joyned to her body again, and her rising up presently upon it, cleansing her face from the dust and sweat; to the wonderful joy of the whole Congregation.* But as I observed before, a white circle remained ever after about her neck, shewing the place where the section had been made. And can the heart of man doubt of this? when Mr. *Cressy* saith, *that immediately after her death, her story was written by the holy Abbot Elerius, her last spiritual Father, and this story was constantly read upon her day in the Breviary secundum usum Sarum.* But *St. Edmund* had a red list about his neck when after his head had been cut off by his enemies, it was found joyned fast to the Body in his Grave; and which was very remarkable, when his friends seeking after his body in the wood, had like to have lost

Capgrav.
F. 259. 2.

Cressy's
Church-
History
L. 16. c. 8.
n. 8.

Breviar. si-
cundum
usum Sarum
3. Nov.
lett. 8.

Capgrav.
F. 108. 1.

lost themselves and one of them cried to the other, where art thou? the head answered distinctly *Here, Here, Here*; and never ceased crying so till it had brought them all to it. This miracle Mr. *Cressy* very honestly gives an account of, and saith, *he finds it attested and received by all ancient Authors without exception, particularly by William of Malm-* *Cressy's Church-History l. 27. c. 27.*
bury. But so much he dares not say of *St. Winnifred*; for he confesses *that Bede and the Saxon Historians do not mention her*; and among these his own *Malmbsbury* is one; but both he and *Alford* think *that the Saxons hated the Britains to that degree, that they would not so much as remember their Saints.* Which is a very likely thing. But of all the miracles of this kind commend me to those of *St. Cadoc*: one time, when he was building an Oratory, an *Irish* artificer came to his assistance, who being envied by his fellow workmen, they very maliciously cut off his head and tied a great stone to his body and so threw it into a pond, next morning the be-headed artificer brings his head in his lap and the great stone at his back; and all bloody shews himself to *St. Cadoc*, then the Head (to whom it belonged to speak) thus addressed it self to the Saint. *O servant of God set my head on my shoulders again, and I will tell thee all the things which thou knowest not about this mat-*

Capgrav. F. 53. 1.

ter. Which he had no sooner done, but the head told the whole story, and having done so expired. But as remarkable was his raising the Gyant *Can* at *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*, who told him that he brought his Soul out of Hell; and being so useful a man, upon the prayers of *St. Cadoc* he lived a notable digger and labourer there a good while after. Have we not now very great reason to believe these Miracles? and is not the Authority of the Legendaries, from whom these things are reported, equal to the Testimony of all Christians? and are not the Miracles themselves as credible and likely to be true as those of Christ and his Apostles? But if these do not satisfy, what can we be able to say, to *Count Wallen Earl of Northumberland*, who being beheaded for rebellion against *William* the Conqueror, his head sixteen years after
Id. f. 278. his death, saith *Capgrave*, was found fastened to his body and only a bloody list about his neck where it was cut off. It seems Rebels are as capable of these Miracles as Saints. We need not at all wonder now that when he was beheaded while he was saying the *Pater Noster*, his head went through with it, after its being cut off. This would hardly go down for a Miracle, when we have such choice of so much better and plainer Miracles, related by those *Authentick Historians*, from whom

whom Mr. *Cressy* and others have furnished themselves with such trash.

Can any one deny it to be a great Miracle for a man to make a whole Basket full of broken Eggs whole again? Yet this *Capgrave* tells us St. *Swithun* did to the poor wo-

mans Eggs that were broken by his workmen, while he was building the Bridge on the East-

side of *Winchester*; and this notable Miracle was performed only with making the sign of

the Cross over them. Now I appeal to the conscience of any man, whether we ever read

that Christ or his Apostles did any such thing? Or did ever Christ or his Apostles hang their

garments upon the *Sun beams*; yet this was done, saith *Capgrave* by St. *Aldelm* in the

Lateran Church, and the beam of the *Sun*

beld his garment a long time: which was kept for a Sacred Relick in the *Monastery* of

Malmsbury. It had been a stranger thing if they had preserved the *Sun-beam* too. But

he was not alone in so strange a Miracle; for St. *Cathro's* Staff was supported by a *Sun-*

beam, as *Colganus* tells us in his life. And that we may not be surprized at the strange-

ness of this Miracle, in his Notes he refers us to the *Life* of St. *Deicola* and St. *Brigid*.

In the life of St. *Deicola* I find, that being weary with travelling; he had a mind to put off his upper garment, which the servants

Id. f. 278. d.

Id. f. 10. i.

*Colgan. Alta San-
ctorum*

*Hiber. 6.
Martii. vit.
S. Cadroe*

. 27.

Colganus
18. Jan.
vit Dei ele
n. 4.

Bolland.
Acta San-
ctorum.
Jan. 18. vit.
Dricole
c 4.

Messing-
ham Flori-
lee. Sancton
Hibern. vit. 1.
Brigide c. 3.
Bolland.
Acta San-
ctorum
Feb. 1. vit 2.
St. Brigide
c. 2. n. 9.
Bolland.
Comment.
prev. ad
Acta Brigi.
Jell. 2. n. 9.

seeing, ran as fast as they could to take it from him; he told them, *by no means; for he had a servant that would be sure to keep it*; and behold a wonderful thing! he espied a beam of the Sun coming in at a window, and came towards it, and laid his garment upon it, where it continued for two or three hours till he took it away. *Bollandus* relates the same story, and that it may not appear incredible, he saith *the same thing was done by St. Goar, St. Florentius, and St. Amabilis, St. Brigid* hung her garment upon the shadow which it seems was stronger than a Sun-beam, for her cloaths were heavy being dropping wet, and she mistook the shadow for a great Tree; (I am much afraid this was not the only mistake in this matter.) But however they hung there a drying, saith *Cogitosus* in the life of *St. Brigid*; whom *Bollandus* calls *an excellent Writer, and a man that Writ not only what he heard but what he saw.* (I would he had told us whether he had seen this Miracle or no.) And yet *Bollandus* thinks *he did not live in the same time, with St. Brigid.* But it may be this must pass for another Miracle that he should see things that were done before he was born.

We think the preservation of *Moses* when a Child was extraordinary; but what was that, to the miraculous preservation and

and education of St. *Kyned*? The Son, saith *Capgrave* of a Prince of little *Britain* Capgrave f. 205. by his own Daughter, who being delivered she exposed him to the River in a Wicker-Cradle, in which he was carried to the Sea and at last was cast upon an Island called in the *British* tongue *Henisweryn*; and on a sudden the Sea fowl gathered about him, and by their Bills and Claws took him out of the water and carried him into the Air, and at last placed him upon a Rock, making a bed of Feathers for him and driving away Serpents and hurtful creatures, and shelter'd him from Wind and Hail and Snow, by joyning their wings together over him. While the Child lay thus, before nine days were passed, an Angel came to him, and brought him a Brass Bell, and put the Childs mouth to it: and when the Child was hungry it turned it self and suck'd of the Bell; which afforded nourishment sweeter than any milk: and of so subtle a nature that he voided no excrements. Thus he continued till he could walk, and the swaddling cloaths in which he was wrapt, grew to him as bark to a Tree just as he grew. Afterwards a wild Doe came twice a day and filled the Bell with Milk, thus he continued eighteen years, being taught to read by an Angel. But although he changed his place yet still he continued an Eremitical life:

once St. *David* desired him to go to a Council with him, he excused himself because of his deformity ; St. *David* prayed for the cure of it, and he was heal'd, St. *Kyned* prayed for the return of it , and he was as bad as ever.

Alford An-
nales Eccles.
A. D. 529.
n. 3.

This Miracle *Alford* relates , although he thinks, *the Writers of his Life have exceeded a little too much in his Miracles.* But to my mind St. *Kyneds* sucking of a Bell, was not so strange as St. *Berachs* sucking St. *Froegius* his ear ; which *Colganus* very gravely relates. No sooner was St. *Berach* born but St. *Froegius* his Uncle took care of him and told his Mother, God was able to bring him up without the help of Milk ; and he gave him his right ear to suck, by which he was as plentifully nourished as if he had sucked all the while at his Mothers breast. If *Capgrave* had had the trimming of this story, he would have added that this was sweeter than any milk. *Colganus* (as he had reason) is very angry with those that say St. *Froegius* his ear gave milk, for although, saith he, it were possible for God to make his ear give milk, yet it is not probable, because other ways might serve as well for his nourishment.

Colganus
ad 15 Jan.
in vit.
St. Berach.
n. 4.

We read not of any Miracles wrought by Christ himself, till he entred upon his Preaching ; but these Saints began very early and some of them held out to a mighty Age ; for St. *David* lived to 147. St. *Fin-*

tan

Jan to 125. *St. Mochaius* to 150. and *St. Cathubius* as long, *St. Finnian* to 180. *St. Kentigern* 185. but *St. Kieran* for 300. years, saith the Author of his life, near 300. saith the Lesson upon his day, *St. Abban* 300. *St. Mochteus* 300. *In all which time he neither spake an idle word nor eat fat meat*, so the Author of his Life saith; but the old Verses cited by *Colganus* say, *That in all that time he neither spake nor eat*; and others that speak more moderately, say, *That in one hundred years he eat nothing*: A pretty reasonable fast for any man! But to be sure much exceeding that of Christ himself: but that is not our present business; which is, to shew how very early they began to work Miracles. It is hardly conceivable they should begin sooner than in their Mothers Wombs; and while *St. Furse* was in his Mothers Womb, he very severely rebuked his Grandfather for thinking to condemn his Mother, without any reasonable cause. *Colganus* confesses that this was a very great Miracle, but justifies it as the Author of his Life doth from Gods omnipotency. Yet *Bollandus* would fain in his Notes, have it softened and made more probable, viz. *That a voice was heard to that purpose, and that some thought the Child spake in his Mothers Womb*; but he confesses the ancient *Ass.* are expresse that it was the Child; & the

Colganus
S. Martii
 p. 466. 16.
Martii.
 p. 627.

24 *Martii.*
 p. 734.

17 *Fursey*
 16. *Jan.*
apud
Colg. x. 5.

Bollandus
not. in vit.
S. Furf. 16.
Jan. c. 28. 7.

hymns of the Church are plain to that purpose.

*Matris intra viscera
Loquens, avi nequioris arguebat scelera.*

Wion. Ligz.
vite l. 3.
p. 26.

Vit S. Fur-
sei c. 2. n. 8.

Colganus
24. Martii
v. S. Moch-
tei n. 1.
Colganus
8 Martii
p. 544. v.
St. Cathaldi
n. 1.

Which were Sung upon his day, faith, *Arnoldus Wion*, from whom *Bollandus* had them: and we hope they were more honest than to praise God for that which they did not believe. Was *St. John Baptist's* leaping in his Mothers belly to be compared to this? But they have a better instance to parallel this, viz. *St. Nicholas his fasting Wednesdays and Fridays while he suckt his Mothers breasts*; or which is all one sucking but once on those days, which I suppose being after *Vespers* made it a good fast: but methinks an honour to the Church of *Rome*, *Saturday* should have been one of his *Fasting-days*. But commend me for devotion to *St. Mochteus* that leapt in his Mothers Womb at *Canonical hours*; a good presage certainly of his future devotion. For a Child new born, scarcely any went beyond *St. Cathaldus*, for as soon as he was born he struck his head against a piece of Marble, and the Marble yielded like wax to him, and when his Mother expired at her delivery, the Child raised up himself without any help, and embracing his Mother in his Arms he raised her to life again. Was not this a towardsly beginning for

for a Child ? Had not St. *Alred* a very clear complexion, whose face *Arch-deacon William* Capgrave in *Capgrave* saw shining like the Sun, with f. 11. such bright beams, that his hand gave a shadow being held towards him ; from whence he had reason to think he would prove an extraordinary man in his time. It seems to be now no great matter that S. *Aldelm* should Id. f. 10. make a Child to speak at nine days old, to Vit. S. Aldelm apud Sarum 25. vindicate the Innocency of the Pope ; and Maii. although Mr. *Cressy* speaks doubtfully of this Cressy's Church Hist. l. 19 c. 12. matter ; yet surely there is no more reason to question it than many other Miracles related by him and his Authors, for it was read in the Lessons upon his day. *Capgrave* saith that * 4. Portifor. Sarisb. 25. St. *Ninian* commanded a Child who was but Maii. l. 3. Capgrave f. 242. few days old to declare who was his own Father, the Child presently obeyed and pointed with his finger, and openly said such a man was his Father. Was not this an early sign of a wise Child ! But never was there certainly a more early Confessor than St. *Romwold* of whom *Capgrave* relates, that being Id. f. 275. newly born he cried out he was a Christian, and presently made a most elaborate confession of his Faith hardly short of that of *Athanasius* in its exactness in the point of the Trinity ; but he was too ripe to hold long, for after three days he dyed. St. *Kieran* in his Childhood raised by his Prayers a Bird half killed

Colganus killed by a Kite; but St. *Kentigern* (being
vit. S. Kie- perhaps a year or two older) exceeded him,
rani 9. for when his School-fellows had pulled off a
Mart. n. 3. *Robin-red-breasts head*, he took the head
 and put it to the body and by his Prayers
 and the sign of the Cross raised the Bird
 to life again, so not only *Capgrave*, but *Bol-*
Capgrave *landus* relate the story; and *Bollandus* in his
f. 208. preface particularly vindicates *Capgrave's* Au-
Bolland. thority with relation to the life of St. *Kenti-*
Acta secto-
rum Jan.
13. p. 816.
Bolland. *gern.*

Are not these now pregnant instances how
Capgrave much these Saints exceeded Christ and his
f. 208. Apostles in their beginning to work Miracles
Bolland. so much before them?
pref. gen.
c. 1. l. 7.

But withall we never find that Christ and
 his Apostles wrought such trifling Miracles.
 To pass over the Resurrection of *Robin-red-*
breast, methinks it was an occasion somewhat
 with the meanest to save School-boys from
 whipping, as *Capgrave* tells us some of his
 Saints have done, witness the Boy at *Canter-*
bury that ran for Sanctuary to St. *Adrians*
 Tomb at St. *Augustins*, whither his Master
 pursued him; and resolved to whip him, till
 a white Dove appeared on the top of the
 Tomb, and by stretching out his neck and
 wings begged pardon for him; then the Ma-
 ster fell upon his knees to the Saint and con-
 fessed his fault; and so the Dove flew away.

But

Capgrave
f. 1.

But he escaped better now than at another time, (if he were the same Master) when whipping the boy however that had fled thither, his arm was held stretched out all that day till he fell upon his knees to the boy, and asked him pardon and by his intercession he recovered the use of his Arm. The truantly boys that ran to St. *Bregmins* Tomb *Id. F. 43.* for sanctuary from their Masters, became invisible to them there, if *Capgrave* may be believed. A boy that ran to St. *Erkenwalds* Tomb from St. *Pauls* school got his lesson by Inspiration there; and when his Master pursued him thither, he repeated it exactly to him. But never was poor Master so punished for whipping boys, as he was that presumed to chastise those that had fled to S. *Ermenilds* Tomb; for the next night the Saint appeared to him, and bound him hand and foot stronger than with Irons, so that he could not move himself; next morning he sends for the boys, begs them pardon and desires them to intercede for him; and being carried to the Tomb of the Saint, he was restored to his former condition. Were not these very important occasions for God to imploy the power of miracles upon?

The nature of this last punishment inflicted on the Schoolmaster, puts me in mind of St. *Leo's* boots which he put the poor *Abbot* of *Ramsay*

Cressy's
Church-
History
l. 13. c. 9.
n. 3.

Ramsey into for not believing the Carpenter *Ezi*'s revelation concerning his body; the whole story is worth reading as Mr. *Cressy* relates it in his *Church-History*. *This St. Ivo was born in a City of Persia called Frianeor* (no matter whether *Ptolemy* or others mention it, for who can tell but such a City might have been in the world and they not know it?) *that his Father was a Prince there named Yomos, and his Mother Isitalia, and his only Brother Athanatos* (a *Persian* word doubtless) *lived an Eremitical life in a certain wood and was illustrious for miracles.* (But how came these particulars to be so well known to our Monks in *England*? I suppose *Ezi* informed them all by the vision of *St. Ivo*) Well, *but St. Ivo was elected Bishop in the Town where he was born and not long after translated to the Archiepiscopal See of the City Asitanea,* (A huge City in *Persia* I suppose) *Which See he governed with great sanctity and prudence, till a terrible famine so desolated the Country that Parents were compelled to devour their Children. By reason whereof St. Ivo with eleven more devout companions, forsook that region and passing through many Countries at last came to Rome:* (Now what a cross thing is this? that *Willi-*

Malmsbury
F. 292.

am of Malmsbury saith, *that he left his Country to avoid the pleasures which his rich*
Bishop-

Bishoprick afforded him; that he only had three companions and never mentions his coming to Rome; but Mr. Cressy had the wit to take no notice of this, although Alford had not.) At Rome, by the Popes advice they severed themselves, and St. Ivo by divine disposition together with his Nephew Sithius and his Kinsman Inthius (two pretty Persian names) and some others came into Britanny. (Observe it good Reader, the Pope sent St. Ivo into Britain; for fear, we should derive our Christianity from the Asian Bishops; and I assure thee Alford not a little glories in this.) And at last died in a Town called Slepe, at three miles distance from Hunting-ton, serving God all his days in watching, fasting and prayers. But all this while, not one word is said of any acquaintance this good Bishop had all his life time in England; not one person is pretended to have known who he was, or whence he came till the Carpenter Ezi's vision; therefore we come to that. Mr. Cressy confesseth his sacred body remained several Ages in the place of his burial, in so much as his memory was lost in that place. But at last A. D. 1001. a certain husbandman as he was plowing the ground light upon his Tomb, which being taken up and opened, the Body of a Bishop in his Pontifical ornaments was seen in it. The night following

Alford An-
nal. A. D.
600. n. 7.

Id. ib. n. 1, 2.

following the same Bishop St. Ivo appeared in a very reverend form and with great brightness to a Carpenter called Ezi and told him who he was; commanding him to signifie to Ednoth Abbot of Ramsey that he should translate his and his companions bodies from thence to his Monastery. But the poor man not having the boldness to relate this vision, he appeared to him the second time repeating the same commands; which he still neglecting to perform, at the third apparition the Bishop smote him on the side with his crozier, telling him that the pain of that stroke should remain, till he had performed what had been enjoined him. The man awaking presently after, found as grievous pain in his side as if a sword had pierced it. Thus was he compelled to declare his vision to the Abbot, which as soon as he had done he was freed from his pain. But the Abbot would give no credit to what the man told him, but calling him clown and fool, said, must we translate and venerate the ashes of I know not what Cobler? the night following the holy Bishop appeared to the Abbot, and said, rise quickly, for I whom thou scornfully calledst Cobler have brought thee here a pair of Boots that will last a good while. These thou must put on and wear for my sake. Having said thus, he seemed to draw on his Legs a pair of Boots with

with care to make them sit smooth and band-
som. Presently the Abbot waking felt such
horrible pain in his Legs, that he was not
able to walk or stand, and fifteen years did
he remain under this infirmity (of Boots.) By
this miracle, saith Mr. Cressy, the sanctity of
the Holy Bishop was approved. A wonderful
discovery of Sanctity ! to revenge himself so
severely upon the Abbot for his reasonable
suspicion of an imposture ; methinks how-
ever a pair of strait shoos might have been
fair punishment at first for calling him Cob-
ler ; and if those had not convinced him, he
might then have proceeded to the *scotch* se-
verity of the Boot. But we are to consider
that a great deal depended upon the honour
of the Body that was to be translated ; for
the resort would be made accordingly ; and
therefore a long gout upon an old Abbot might
by an easie metaphor pass for *St. Ivo's boots*.
I wonder Mr. Cressy omitted another miracle
wrought, no doubt, *in approbation of the San-
ctity of the Holy Bishop* too ; for in my opi-
nion the story of *St. Ivo's girdle* is as good
as of his *boots* ; for which we must under-
stand that these Saints were very severe to-
wards all persons who neglected their Festi-
val days ; now it so happened, that a Monk
commanded his servants to work upon his
day, and spake not very kindly of the Saint.

Capgrav.
F. 200.

(It

(It may be questioning whether ever there was any such Saint or no ; or calling him *Girdler*, as we may think by his punishment.) to him St. *Ivo* appeared and asked him if he knew him, he trembling, answered no. The Saint replied *I am Ivo whom thou lately saidst thou didst not know and hinderedst men from keeping my Feast ; Here, take this girdle and by this token remember me ;* and girding it about him he left him. The Monk waking
 • found himself as it were girt with an Iron girdle, and was under horrible pains and diseases till by visiting St. *Ivo*'s monument he recovered his health. Thus, these miracles end in some honour to a shrine or monument, which may reward the *Monks* well for the use of their inventions to delude the people. But did ever Christ or his Apostles testifie their sanctity by giving men such *Boots* and *Girdles* as St. *Ivo* did? Did they ever vindicate the honour of their Festivals in such a manner? It's true, when persons openly lied and cheated, they were once struck dead upon the place ; and when others profaned the holy institution of the Lords supper they were severely punished ; but what is this, to the questioning the body of such an unknown Saint as St. *Ivo* ? What is this, to the hindring men from keeping his Festival ? Were the other such fit ends for God to
 employ

employ his power in working miracles as
 these? Could any think, the asserting the
 Apostolical power, or the holiness of Christs
 own institutions were fit to be compared with
 the owning of the body of St. *Ivo*, or making
 servants work upon his holy-day? If they do,
 they must have different apprehensions of the
 Christian Religion, from what some would
 seem to have in the Church of *Rome*. But
 to proceed,

Was ever any thing done by Christ or his
 Apostles like the turning a pound of but-
 ter into a bell? yet this is related, from the
 same storehouse from which they had St. *Ivo's*
Boots and Girdle, viz. *Capgrave*, who saith
 that St. *Oudocem* Bishop of *Landaff* travel-
 ling, desired of some women that were wash-
 ing butter, a dish of water; they told him they
 had no dish but their butter; the Bishop took
 their butter, and made it in the fashion of a
 bell and drank out of it, and it remained in
 that fashion as a *Golden Bell*, and was per-
 served as a sacred Relique in the Church of
Landaff for a Testimony of the miracle. Did
 ever any of Christs Apostles meerly with
 breathing, and the sign of the Cross change
 a person from looking young and fresh to be
 grayhaired and wrinkled; yet this Mr. *Cressy*
 delivers (as he saith) from our more an-
 cient and credible Historians concerning

Capgrave
via St.
Oudocci
l. 258.

Cressy's
Church-
History
l. 28. c. 2.
n. 4, 7.

St. Modwenna: who intending to retire appointed Abbess over her Monastery a certain virgin named Orbila; who by reason of her youth and beauty being in great apprehension to undertake that charge; She binding her with her own girdle, and making the sign of the Cross upon her, presently all her hair became white, and her Countenance wrinkled as if she had been very aged, yet without any diminution of her health or strength. Mr. Cressy omits a necessary circumstance of this miracle, viz. that *she breathed upon her*; for who can tell but there might be as great vertue in that, as in the sign of the Cross or her girdle? When was there ever such a miracle seen in the Apostolical times, as in the letting down the bolt of a door to *St. Neotus*? For as Mr. Cressy observes *he was of a stature so very low and dwarfish, that in celebrating Mass, he was obliged to make use of an iron footstool*; Now, saith *Capgrave*, some great man knocking hastily at the door, *St. Neot* endeavoured to open it and the bolt was much too high for him, and behold a miracle! the bolt was let down to his girdle that he might with ease open it. Had it not been as well, for the door to have opened it self by a miracle? but then *St. Neot* would have had no hand in it. Did ever any of them revenge perjury as *St. Quintin* did? who pulled a man

Capgrav.
F. 235.

Cressy's
Church-
History
l. 29. c. 2.
n. 3.

Capgrav.
F. 239.

man by the nose in the night for it, and as *Capgrave* saith, the next morning touching his nose, it dropt off into the bason where he was washing; or as *St. Egwin*? when an old man sware by his beard, that the land was his own, which belonged to *St. Egwin*, immediately his beard fell to the ground, and so he lost his land and his beard too. Did ever any of them curse a whole Trade in a Town as *St. Egwin* did: for *St. Egwin*, we must know, went often from his Monastery of *Evesham* to *Alu-cester* to preach to the people; *Id. F. 125;* which place was very full of Smiths, who beat their Anvils so loud while he was preaching, that he could not be heard; upon that he solemnly cursed the Trade of Smiths in that place, so that saith *Capgrave*, never did any one thrive by it since. Did ever any of them bind themselves in Iron Chains for their sins and go in Pilgrimage in them as the same *St. Egwin* did from *England* to *Rome*? (as *Mr. Cressy* relates the story from *Ancient Authors*.) And were any of them assured of the pardon of their sins by such a miracle as he was; viz. *As soon as he had fastned his chains he cast the key which locked them together into the river Avon publicly protesting that he would never esteem himself secure of the pardon of his sins, till either the key were restored to him, or the chains unloosed*

Cressy's Church-History
l. 21. c. 3.
n. 4. 5.

by a power supernatural. And now behold the miracle. While he was at his devotions in the Church of St. Peter in Rome, his servants going to the rivers side to buy provisi-
on for their master, they found in a fishes belly the key which locked his chains, and then in the presence of a great multitude he unlocked the said chains, perceiving saith Mr. Gressy, that such was the divine will and mercy: or rather the cunning of one of his servants who might very easily convey the key from England to Rome to gain reputati-
on to his Master by so glorious a miracle; as it seems this made him esteemed a Saint at Rome. If it were in his return between France and England, as *Malmesbury* saith, the miracle is just as great as it was, only I observe that they sometimes differ in the circumstances of their Relations.

We read indeed that one of the Apostles was taken up into the third Heaven and heard unutterable things there; but I dare say, none of them ever dreamt of seeing the Angels ring Bells in Heaven to the praise of the Blessed Trinity as St. *Walstan* did. *Pythagoras* his Musick of the Spheres was nothing to the Peal of Angels which he heard: which so ravished him that he gave over his work, and called to his Companion to come to him and devoutly to set his own foot upon his and believe

Ca. grav. .
F. 295.

believe stoutly and he should see the Heavens opened, & the Angels ringing Bells to the praise of the ever Blessed Trinity. Methinks the *Monastery of Barking* had been a good place to have seen this ringing of the Angels; for over that *Capgrave* saith, the Heavens are seen open after a peculiar manner. It was a thing which frequently happened, to hear Angels singing at the death of their Saints: so St. *Munis* heard them singing all night about a tree where St. *Patrick's* Leper lay dead, saith *Jocelin* in the life of St. *Patrick*; St. *Angus* saw as many about another body as reached up to Heaven who were all singing over the body; but they accompanied the body of St. *Abba* ^{Colgan.} ~~now~~ to his burial, with rays of light instead of Torches as bright as the beams of the Sun. ^{Acta St. Florum Hi- bern. p. 179.} But this was not all, for the Angels were extraordinarily serviceable to them upon all occasions, above any thing we read concerning Christ or his Apostles. I shall not mention their bare appearances, for it was as common for Eremites and such Saints to see Angels, as for us to converse one with another: but the Angels brought wood for St. *Moedoc* for ^{Colgan.} the building of a Church, till one of his ^{31. Jan. vit. S. Mai- oci. n. 53.} Disciples against his command was resolved to see them, and he espied a multitude of beautiful young men with golden locks to their shoulders, but from that time a voice

Id. 23. Feb.
vst. S. Finn-
nian. n. 6.

Id. 8. Mar-
tii v. 13 v.
Senan.

Id. 1. Mart.
p. 438.

Id. 23. Feb.
p. 404.

Id. 16. Mar-
tii n. 31.

Can-
grav.
F. 160.

was heard forbidding them to bring any more; otherwise the whole Church would have been built by Angels. Then was St. *Moe-
doc* hard put to it, not being able to procure an exquisite workman; he takes an unskilful fellow and blesseth his hands upon which he was enabled to finish the work which the Angels began. They helped St. *Finnian* to bring Timber from the Wood, both more and quicker than others of his Brethren; and *Cathmaelus* heard the noise of Angels about him. An Angel helped St. *Senanus* to grind in a Mill for a whole night together: Several of them ground at the Mill for *Engenius* and *Tigernachus* while they were reading. An Angel carried a letter from St. *Finnian* to St. *Columba*, who upon receiving it went ten days journey in one day: Another brought a Candle to St. *Abban* in a dark night to conduct him in his way, and when he had done, took it of him again. Many other such offices we read they performed to these Saints, of which we read nothing in the lives of Christ or his Apostles. I Suppose it was an Angel that tolled St. *Good-
ric*'s Bell for him, to prayers, for they tell us it was miraculous; and when others took notice of this miracle, he prayed *that he alone might hear it*, which happened accordingly. But it is no wonder the Angels should toll the Bell,

Bell, when the Blessed Virgin taught him to sing. For she appearing one night to him at her own altar, came and laid her hands upon him; and afterwards begun a Tune before him as Masters use to do to Scholars. The very Song is extant in *Capgrave*, which contained only an invocation of her self; which no doubt she extreamly desires. In my judgement it was a great kindness the Angels did to St. *Finan* when thy gave him three round stones, which served him instead of Candles in the night, to read, and write, and pray by all his days. But the Author of his life in the late Jesuits Collection tells us that the fingers of St. *Finians* left hand served him instead of candles; which a poor country fellow espying lost one eye for his curiosity. But St. *Patrick's* fingers did mightily outshine his, for in a very dark night his Coachman not being able to find his Horses, St. *Patrick* out of great compassion towards him, lifts up the fingers of his right hand; and behold, saith *Jocelin a very wonderful thing*! his five fingers did shine like the beams of the Sun, and turned darkness into light and night into day. This I confess was very extraordinary; but in another kind St. *Elfreda's* fingers did well, when, we are told, she arose one night to prayers and her Candle going out, the fingers of her right hand

Capgrav.
F. 168^r

Acta 3^{an}.
Florum 16.
Martii n. 7.

Jocelin vit.
St. Patrick
cii t. 157.

Capgrav.
F. 126.

hand did give such a light, as not only served her self, but all about her to read by. And can any of these be paralleld by any miracles done by Christ or his Apostles? These are a sort of *New Lights* beyond what any of our *Fanaticks* have pretended to.

Now if we consider the miracles done either by Christ or his Apostles we shall find that these Legendary Saints did very much exceed them in the same kind of miracles. Our Saviour we read only fasted forty days and forty nights; we have met with one already that fasted a hundred years: but if that seem too *Romantick*, we shall find some of them fasting the same time of forty days but with the addition of a very pretty circumstance that they grew fatter and taller by it. So we read in *Colganus* of St. *Moedoc*; but St. *Aidanus* in *Capgrave* out pitched him, for he fasted fifty days and fifty nights and grew fatter also. St. *Bartholmew* of *Durham* for seven years and a half before his death drank nothing; if he had not eaten in that time neither, it had been a perfect miracle.

When our Blessed Saviour Preached he did not make a mountain on purpose but went up into the next at hand; but when St. *Kemtegern* was to Preach in *Wales* (though there was no want of mountains there,) a mountain rose up under his feet, which abideth to this

Colgan.
31. Jan.
n. 36.

Capgrav.
v't St. Aidan.
p. 3.

Acta Sancto-
rum Jan. 13.
c. 6. n. 33.

this day, saith *Capgrave*; *Bollandus* in the *Capgrav.*
 notes on his life, tells us, *the same is said* *F. 210.*
 of *St. David*, but with more particular cir- *Cressy's*
 cumstances, thus related by *Mr. Cressy*; *when* *Church-*
all the Fathers assembled assigned St. David *History*
to Preach, he commanded a Child which at- *L. II. c. II.*
tended him, and had lately been restored to *N. 2.*
life by him to spread a napkin under his feet:
and standing upon it he began to expound
the Gospel and the Law to the Auditory. All
the time that his Oration continued a snow-
white Dove descending from Heaven sat up-
on his shoulders; and moreover the earth on
which he stood raised it self under him, till
it became a Hill, from whence his voice like
a trumpet was clearly heard and understood
by all, both near and far off. On the top of
which Hill a Church was afterwards built,
which remains to this day. It seems St. Da-
vid wanted St. Columba's voice, which saith
Capgrave when he was singing service might
be heard distinctly above a mile without the
help of a Hill.

It is true *that Christ did cure the lame and*
the blind and cleansed the Lepers: but was
 ever any withered arm cured by him as the
 woman was at the Tomb of *St. Erardus* *Colgm.*
 which made such a noise at its first stretching, *Acta Sc-*
 as was heard in every corner of the Church: *torum Hi-*
 Were ever Lepers cleansed by Christ or his *bern. p. 27.*
 Apostles

Acta Sc-
elerum
1 Jan. c. 3.
n. 6, 7.

Capgrave.
F. 32.

Bolland.
1 Jan. c. 45.

Apostles in such a manner as is related of some *Irish Saints*, by *Bollandus*, and *Colganus* ? *St. Munnu* in the life of *St. Mochua* in *Bollandus*, wanting the daily conversation of an Angel, which he had before, fell into discontent about it; the Angel told him he must be humbled, *St. Munnu* desired that he might have a leprosse for his humiliation; his prayer was heard, and he had it for seven years; at the end whereof the Angel came to him, and told him he should go to *St. Mochua* to be cured. *St. Mochua* was not presently to be found, in the mean time *St. Munnu* employed himself in sweeping together the lice that dropt from him and putting them in their places again; (according to the rule of *Frier Bartholmew* of *Durham* that men must have *nasty bodies* if they would have *pure souls*) at last *S. Mochua* comes to him and embraces him and by licking him all over perfectly cured him; but the hardest part of his task was *the sucking his nostrils* which he did three times and drew out three tough pieces of phlegm, and (behold a miracle indeed!) these *three pieces* were turned into *three talents of Gold*, which were preserved in his cabinet like three Golden Apples. I confess *Bollandus* seems a little startled at these miracles, but he saith *they were usual in that simple and holy nation as may appear by the lives*

of other Saints. I wonder the Jesuit
 should make a reflection on the whole nation
 for the sake of the folly of the Monks. *Col-* Colgan.
20 Jan. 1122
Fech. 8 13.
& p. 151.
ganus in the life of St. *Fechinus* relates, that
 he put *Dermotius* his Queen upon this nasty
 way of curing a leprosie; and the same mi-
 racle followed; for the *phlegm* was turned in-
 to pure gold, with part of which he purchased
 land for his Church, and the other he put
 into his staff to be preserved to posterity.
 This story is three times related in *Colganus*,
 that he might be sure to preserve the memory
 of it. But we must not suppose our own
Country Monks to come behind the *Irish* ei-
 ther in *simplicity*, or this faculty of working
 miracles: for *Capgrave* tells us that St. *Egbin* Capgrav.
F. 122.
 the Monk used the same way of cure to a
 leprous person; but instead of Gold (O hor-
 rible blasphemy!) that which he sucked out
 proved to be the very flesh of the Son of God.
 For he found this leprous person to be Christ
 himself, and while he held him by the sides he
 looked up and saw the Heavens opened, and
 he saw a Cross upon his head and Angels
 coming to meet him; and as he raised himself
 up into the air, he spake very kind words at
 parting. But what will not these men say to
 make the nasty Monks workers of miracles!

It was prophesied that in the days of the
 Messias the Wolf and the Lamb should lie
 down

down together and the Leopard and the Kid,
i. e. that the Christian Doctrine should be the
most effectual means to remove animosities out
of the World and to bring in universal Peace
and Charity. But the *Monks* who wrote
the Lives of these Saints fearing they should
in any thing come behind what is said of Christ
himself; have filled their Legends with pro-
digious stories about the taming of Wolves,
and the power they had over all sorts of living
creatures. It was very common with these
Saints when the Wolves had devoured the
Calves to make them come and suck the
Cows in their places for fear they should lose
their milk. So the Author of the life of
St. *Gerald* affirms that at his command the
Wolf came and did his duty; *But after a*
while by the instinct of nature or rather by
the motion of the Spirit of God (saith the
same Author) *the Wolf went to a hill and*
there called a Fawn to supply his room; by
which means they got both the Doe and the
Fawn to the Monastery; and from hence the
name of the Monastery was called Elitheria,
Elich in Irish, saith he, signifying a Doe.*
St. *Fechinus* his mother set him to keep seven
Cows and a Calf; but he being busie at his
contemplation, a Wolf came and killed his
Calf, and eat him up to the bones; his Mo-
ther chid him for his neglect; he presently

Colgan. 13.
Martii n. 7.
p. 600.

Colgan. 20.
Jan. vit.
Fech. n. 7.

runs after the Wolf and calls to him as his
 acquaintance and friend, the Wolf presently
 submits, he takes him and tyes him to a hol-
 low stone, whither the Cows came at their
 time to the Wolf as if he had been the Calf
 and gave down their milk as freely; which
 stone hath since done great wonders. Ano-
 ther time he was shrewdly mistaken, for in-
 stead of milking a Cow he went to a Bull, N. 9.
 and sadly complained he could get no milk,
but behold, saith the Author of his Life, *a*
wonderful Miracle ! The Bull gave more
 milk than any Cow of them all. And for
 this, he appeals to Gods omnipotency as *Be-*
atus doth for the *Chappel of Loreto*. Ano-
 ther life of *St. Fechinus* relates this Miracle Vit. S. Fe-
 concerning *Pastolus*, his Cook; but withal chini x. 36.
adds, that the Bull afforded as much milk as all P. 137.
the seven Cows. *St. Kentigern* wanting Oxen
 to plow with, commanded two Stags to come
 out of the Wood and do their work; the
 Stags presently obeyed, and when they had
 done their days work, returned to their
 pasture again. At last a Wolf seizes on one
 of them and devours him. Then *St. Kentigern*
 stretched forth his hand towards the Wood
 and said, *In the name of the blessed Trinity*, Acta San-
I command the Wolf to come out and make ctorum 13.
me satisfaction: and behold the Wolf came Ja. vit.
 howling and fell at his feet. To whom the Kentig.
 Saint c. 4. n. 20.

Saint thus spake, *Arise, and in the name of Jesus Christ I command thee to go to plow in the place of the Stag*, which command the Wolf obeyed, and though he was unequally yoked made a shift to plow nine Acres and then went his way. But his sowing was as miraculous as his plowing, for one time wanting grain he sowed sand instead of it, and at harvest he reaped excellent Wheat. These Miracles of St. *Kentigern* I the rather instance in, because one being offended at the Miracles contained in the lives of these Saints as published by *Capgrave*; *Bollandus* offered him the Life of St. *Kentigern* for a tryal, and asked him what he disliked in it, as he had published it, *When he had read it*, saith *Bollandus*, *he confessed if the lives of the Saints were so published they could not but please Learned men*. I desire such persons to give their opinions by these instances; and let them then judge whether the *New Legends* be not altogether as bad as the *Old*.

N. 21.

Boll'and.
prof. gener.
c. 1. f. 14.

Capgrave
vit. S. Mod-
wennz
f. 234.

When a Wolf had devoured a Calf belonging to St. *Modwenna* she sent her Boy with her staff to him to command him to come to her; the Boy found the Wolf yet eating the Calf, and told the Wolf his errand: the Wolf followed him like a Dog, and fell down before her and begged pardon. She first chid him, and then bad him keep that
Cow

Cow out of danger all his days : which the Wolf punctually observed, and was ever after beloved by the Cow as if he had been a Calf. Yea all the Wolves that were of his race kept the Cows thereabouts for three miles compass; and *Capgrave* saith, *They are less than others and have white spots in their fore heads, and hurt no body*. When St. Neots Oxen were stollen, the Stags came and offered their Service to Plow for him; at which the Thieves were so astonished that they brought his Oxen again; and some say that all the Stags that are descended from them have white marks where their harness was put on : but of this *Capgrave* saith, *he neither affirms it, nor because of Gods omnipotency dares to deny it*.

Capgrave
vit. S. Neoti
f. 240.

St. Bernac made use of Stags to draw his carriage when he pleased, and then sent them back to their Forrage : he committed his Cow daily to the keeping of a Wolf, which led her out and brought her home every day. The King of *Wales* sends to St. Bernac to provide him a supper; he returns a rude answer, (as any man but one of their Saints would have thought) that he owed him not so much service, the King being angry sends his servants, who chopt his Cow to pieces; but they could never make the water hot wherein the meat was to be boyled; the King then submits

Id. vit.
S. Bernaci
f. 37.

submits and very humbly sues for pardon, then St. *Bernac* raises his Cow although cut to pieces, and commits her to the Wolf again, and the Monk being in a good humour (as it was dangerous to Princes for them to be otherwise) invites the King to supper, and having nothing provided, he goes to the next Oak, and instead of leaves upon it he found as many Manchets as he had occasion for, (the first Manchets I am confident that ever grew within a mile of an Oak,) then to the River he goes, which ran with Wine instead of Water, and all the Stones in the River were turned into Fishes: the King requited him well for this cheap entertainment, by exempting his Lands from all Taxes. By these few instances, out of very many which might be produced, we see what subjection Wolves and other creatures were in to them in those days, for, so far as I can learn, this sort of Miracles is now wholly ceased.

But we must not think that since they were so much civilized, they took no farther care of their education. For St. *Kieran* intending to make himself a Cell, the first Disciple (saith the Author of his Life in *Golganu*) which came to him was a wild Boar, which brought him rods and hay with his Teeth towards his Cell, then came a Fox, a Brock, a Wolf, and a Doe: and *lived very strictly under his Government,*

Colgan.

Acta San-
ctorum Hi-
ber. n. 5.

Mat. n. 7.

government, and obeyed him in all things like
 so many Monks; which are the expressions
 of the Author; and are justified by *Colganus* Colgan.
p. 464.
 in his Notes, who appeals to the State of In-
 nocency; the power and goodness of God,
 and other ancient instances of a like nature,
 and the obedience which the Birds and Beasts
 shewed to St. Francis. But the Fox never
 thought I dare say, of any state of Innocen-
 cy, for he stole the good Abbots shoes, and
 wickedly forgetting his vow of obedience,
 carried them to his old Kennel; the Abbot
 knowing this sends another Monk, viz. the
 Brock after him who finds the Fox ready to
 eat up the shoes, and with much ado brings
 him to penance; the devout Abbot lays
 open the greatness of his fault before the
 the Fox, (as certainly it was a great fault in a
 Fox to steal shoes with a design to eat them)
 who submits to penance and fasted till St. Ki-
 eran bid him eat: he fasted three days, saith
 Capgrave; who tells the same story only
 calling the Abbot Piramus. St. Abban took
 such pity towards the lean Wolves that came
 out of the Wood that he commanded them to
 take one of the Calves; upon which they
 made a present dispatch of him: the Wolves
 came and gave him thanks for their good
 Dinner; the men that were set to keep the
 Cattel, finding a Calf destroyed by Wolves, Capgr. vit.
S Pirani.
f. 267.

Colgan.
vit. S. Ab-
bani 16.
Martii 4. 5.

M m

made

N. 8.

N. 28.

Colgan. vit.
S Colmanni
p. 244.

made very lamentable moan to St. *Abban* ; at which he fell to his Prayers and signed the small remainders of the carcass with the sign of the Cross, and immediately skin and flesh covered the bones, and the Calf rose up just of the same colour and bigness he was of before : and the Author of his Life conjures us to believe him *because all things are possible with God*. Another time as he was sitting in his Cell, the Wolves ran in among the Cattel, he cryed out, *let them alone* ; and from that time the Wolves not only forbore to devour them, but lived very neighbourly with them. Thus we see what command they had over these creatures ; but in my mind St. *Colmans Flea* was as great a Miracle as any of these ; for he had brought a *Flea* to stand just upon the line where he left, when he was called away from his Book, as he had done a Mouse and a Cock to wake him to Mattins ; but as all these things are mortal, it happened that these three dyed, at which the good man was so disconsolate, that he sent to St. *Columba* to comfort him. *Colganus* uses such expressions about these miraculous attendances of the *Flea* and the *Mouse*, that I am ashamed to repeat them ; calling them *The familiar condescensions and sportings of Christ with his people, which can only seem incredible to those, who do not consider how wonderful*
God

God is in his Saints. Are such as these indeed the *Favours and condescensions* of Christ? Pitiful souls! that can think such fopperies as these, the expressions of Gods wonderful goodness to his Saints. I confess some of their Miracles upon dead Cattel were extraordinary; as when *St. Mochters* raised up a Calf after it was eaten; when *St. Moedoc* discovered a man that had stolen one of his Cattel, and afterward denied it, by making the ear of it hang out of his mouth. And when *St. Patrick* made the Goat that was eaten cry out in the belly of the man who had stolen and eaten him. These were very wonderful things, and were they not delivered by such substantial and grave witnesses as these Legendary Writers, could hardly be believed.

We read that Christ and his Apostles did frequently cast out Devils, and that, presently, publickly, without any Ceremony; but we never read they play'd such ridiculous pranks with one another, as the Devils and these Legendary Saints did. *St. Fintan* pull'd the Devil out of a man by putting three fingers in his mouth; and when he had done he confined him to a certain Rock, where for all that we know he continues to this day; for the Author of his Life saith, he did so till his time, and hurt no body. To defend

Mm 2

this,

Colgan.

24. Mart

n. 14. Id. 31.

Jan. n. 55.

Jocelin. vi.

S. Patric.

c. 27.

Colgan. 1.

Jan. vit.

S. Fintan

n. 10.

this, *Colganus* flies to Gods omnipotency, which indeed makes every thing possible, but barely of it self proves nothing. *Frier Bartholomew* of *Durham* was hugely molested with the Devil in several shapes, as of a Mouse, a Lyon, and an Ape, sometimes leaping upon his Legs, sometimes being ready to choak him, sometimes pulling him by the Cowle and casting him on the floor; at last after many tricks, the stout Frier takes a whole pot of holy water and throws it in his face, and then he sneaked away horribly ashamed and confounded. *St. Benigne* was going one night to the Church of *St. Mary* in *Glastonbury*; upon the Bridge he espys a Devil making toward him; after some sharp words that passed between them the *Saint* caught hold of him with his left hand, and with the staff in his right hand, beat him as long as he could stand over him; and at last threw him into a Well, out of which he never arose again: But no persons ever durst come near that Well since that time saith *Capgrave*. The Devil, watching his opportunity, stole from *St. Caradoc* the *Eremitte*, his girdle and purse; and when the good man was looking for them, he saw the Devil standing not far off with them fleering and laughing at him; but he soon made him restore them again. We must not forget *St. Dunstan* holding

Capgr. f. 33.

Id. f. 36.

Capgr. f. 55.

holding the Devil by the Nose with a red hot pair of Tongs, which although Mr. *Cressy* slyly passes over, yet his friend *Alford* honestly remembers it; and speaks of it as an heroic act in him (as no doubt it was) in the beginning of his conversion; a thing without parallel from the time of the Devils fall from Heaven to this day. No wonder it made him cry out, *What hath this bald pate done?* But for all that, the Devil would not give him over so; however he thought fit to change his shape into a Bear, *St. Dunstan* finding who he was, falls upon him unmercifully with his pastoral staff, and never gave him over till he had broken his staff upon him into three pieces. The Devil plaid forty tricks with *St. Goodric* which *Capgrave* relates; once he perswaded him to dig for a treasure, and when he had digged a little way, up rose several little black boys with shorn heads, which mocked him and threw stinking pellets in his face: but from that time he would never mind money more: and therein he was too hard for the Devil. Another time, the Devil and he wrestled so long together, that the combat endured nine hours; and the noise of it was heard by others abroad; for it seems they were at it both with words and blows. But at last *St. Goodric* said, *with the help of the sign of the Cross, he feared the*

Capgr. f. 90.

Alford. A. D.

935. n. 4.5.

Capgr. f. 91.

Id. f. 163.

F. 194.

Devils no more than he did the motion of the Air. Never was poor man so used by them as St. *Guthlac* in his retirement at *Crowland*; for they made nothing of binding him and tossing him in the air, and throwing him into Lakes and Ponds, and whipping him till at last kind St. *Bartholomew* came to his assistance, and made them carry him safe again to the place where they took him up. Afterwards he had sufficient revenge upon some of them, for some he made to serve him in his buildings, and one he shut up in a boyling pot. Thus we see how far in their ways of combating with the Devils, these Legendary Saints out did Christ and his Apostles.

It was a small matter with them to raise the dead as *Christ did Lazarus*; but when the head of *Beaunus* was cut off by his enemies, Colgan. 15. and not to be found, at St. *Ita's* prayers the *Jan. x. 15.* head came posting through the Air, and stood by the body, and she joyned them as fast together, as if they had never been separated, and in the space of an hour he arose as sound and vigorous as ever he was in his Life: and these things are written if we believe *Colganus* by a faithful and antient Author.

But what shall we say to St. *Patrick*, of whom *Jocelin* speaks that he raised up a man that had been dead one hundred years, being Grandfather to him for whose satisfaction he was

Jo. elin vii.
St. Patrick
c. 82.

was raised. *Jocelin* doth not express the number of years, but *St. Ewin* in *Colganus* doth. *Jocelin* elsewhere mentions his raising one that had been *ten years dead*; but we are to remember by what instrument *St. Patrick* is said to do these things, *viz. by the staff of Jesus*, which is supposed to have been delivered to him by one who said he had it from Christ himself and was the very same he used upon Earth. c. 78.

Nothing more usual with the *Irish Saints* to raise dead Cattel as well as Men, *viz. Oxen and Horses, Calves and Hogs*, as may be seen abundantly in *Colganus*. One thing I have yet omitted which was very extraordinary; *viz. that the Kings only Daughter* being dead; they sent to *St. Gerald* to raise her from the dead, who not only did it, but with this pleasant circumstance, to the great joy of the King, turned his Daughter into a Son at her Resurrection. *Colganus* confesses *That nothing like this occurs in story, and yet though it seem never so incredible, we ought not to question Gods omnipotency*; especially when the matter of fact is so stoutly attested. That which comes nearest to this, is *St. Abbans* changing the sex of a Daughter by Baptizing her; as the same *Colganus* reports it; methinks he need not have troubled himself to have heap'd together so many stories of natural transformations to Colgan. 13.
Martii vit.
S. Gerald
n. 6.
Id. 16. Martii vit.
S. Abban.
n. 23.

make these credible. For they who can believe the other Miracles contained in the lives of the Saints published by him, need not stick at any thing in the World. They who could turn Acorns into Pork, and which is more a sword of Bacon into a Coultter to Plow with, both which he reports of one of their Saints; why should not they be able to transform one Sex into another? No men can tell what bounds to let to the power of such, who could bring a man from *Rome* to *Cassell* with the sound of a Bell, as *St. Fechin* did *Tyrerhanus*; or that could feed a whole Army with one small measure of Grain for three days together; and which adds much to it he divided that measure into two parts, whereof the one served for drink, as the other for meat: as is related of the same wonderful Saint. Next to him is *St. Kierans* feeding a whole Army with a Cow and a Hog; as is contained in the Lessons to be read upon his day; but the Author of the English Martyrology, makes the Miracle more considerable, for he saith, *That with three Cows he fed ten Armies for eight days.* I commend a man that will make something of a story when he hath it in his hands.

I shall mention but one thing more, viz. *Miraculous going upon the water as our Saviour did*; and then we shall see that these

Legendary

Id. 20. Jan.

n. 31. 42. vit.

St. Fechin

p. 136, 138.

Id. ib. n. 14.

N. 34.

Co'gan.

Martii

p. 458.

lect. 9.

Martyrolog.

Angl. ad

2 Maii.

Legendary Writers will leave the honour of
 no one Miracle entire to our *Saviour* excepting
 that of his own Resurrection from the dead,
 which was the greatest of all others; and to
 which I do not find that any of them ever so
 much as pretended. But for passing upon the
 Waters in a miraculous manner; nothing
 was more common among them; and scarce
 any of them did it but exceeded our *Saviour*
 in some circumstance or other. The *Sea* of *Galilee*
 on which our *Saviour* walked was but
 one League over, and three in length; and
 upon this he walked only till he came to his
 Ship; but these Legendary Saints made no-
 thing of passing from *Ireland* to *Britain* and
 so back again. *St. Fanchia* had a great mind
 to see her Brother *Endema* at *Rome* and took
 three other Virgins with her, but commanded
 them to carry no manner of Utensils with
 them; but one of them transgressed her com-
 mand and carried a brass Basin with her;
 when they came to the Sea-shore to pass for
England, they missing a Ship to transport
 them, *St. Fanchia* spreads her Mantle upon
 the Sea, and walked boldly upon it dry foot,
 and she and her companions seated themselves
 upon it; and the wind blew to their minds
 but on a sudden one part of the Mantle sinks
 under water. Then *St. Fanchia* bid them
 confess their sins, which when she had done
 who

Quaresm.
cl. id. torn
lib. 1. 7.
c. 3.

Colgan. 1.
Jan. vii.
S. Fanchia
n. 8, 9.

who conveyed away the Bason; the Saint takes the Bason and throws it into the Sea and they came safe to their port in *Britain*. But for all this, the Bason comes again miraculously to her, for St. *Darerca* finding it on the shore of *Ireland*, and knowing how useful it would be to St. *Fanchea* for the washing her hands, beseeched Almighty God (in so important a business) to imploy his power that it might be conveyed to her: she tyed another to it and so dispatched them by Sea, and both came safe to St. *Fanchea*; who sends back her own to St. *Darerca* again the same way, and she receiving it gave great thanks to God and his holy Angels. Was not Gods Almighty Power in the mean time very much at the beck of these female Saints? Whereas, if I be not deceiv'd, the Scripture never mentions any Miracle wrought by a Woman, no not even by the blessed Virgin her self. St. *Fanchea* having found this easie passage returned to *Ireland* again after the same manner. St. *Schotinus* was passing over from *Ireland* to *Wales* walking upon the Sea, and he meets a Ship wherein St. *Barra* was, who asked him why he walked upon the Sea? *Schotinus* told him he walked in a flowry Meadow, and putting down his hand took up a handful of reddish Flowers which he cast into his bosom to convince him. St. *Barra* on the other side took a Fish

Colgan. 2.
Jan. vit.
S. Schotini
n. 5, 6.

Fish out of the Sea which he threw towards
schotinus to prove it was the Sea; and on
both sides, thus playing with Miracles, and
glorifying God in his wonders they departed
from each other, saith *Colganus*. Another
time he passed over to St. *David* from *Ireland* N. 7.
on the back of a monstrous great Beast in the
Sea, when he was sent in haste by the Angel to
prevent St. *David's* being poisoned. But it is
no great wonder he should have so quick a
passage by Sea, since *Colganus* saith of him,
that having great business at *Rome* he was car-
ried from *Ireland* thither in a day: and having N. 8.
dispatched his affairs, returned to *Ireland* in
another day. St. *Moedoc* was one day trou-
bled that he had not asked St. *David*, who
was to be his Confessor in *Ireland*; upon this
weighty business away he walks over the Sea
towards *Wales*; an *Angel* met him upon the
Sea and chid him for his boldness; he told
the Angel he trusted to Gods omnipotency and
goodness. But the Angel (who it seems by
the story was a Heretick) further told him
he went upon a needless errand, for he needed
no Confessor besides God himself, but if he
would have a witness of his Conscience, he
should choose *Molua*. Upon this he returns.
But he bethinks himself that his *Bell* was in
Britain; (for we must know that the Saints
in those times made great account of little
tinkling

Colgan. 31.
far. vit.
Maidoci
N. 20.

tinkling *Cymbals*; so we read of *St. Gildas*
 his *Bell* consecrated by the *Pope*, and sent to
St. Cadoc for men to swear by, of *St. Illtud*
 his *Bell*, and the Miracles done by it, of
St. Davids Bell, and the curing the *King* of
Dublin by applying it to his *Check*; but most
 wonderful was the *Bell* of *St. Kufseu*, than
 when *St. Cuanna* and his Disciples were toge-
 ther in the Fields, came hovering over them
 like a Bird and in token of Fraternity was
 sent by him from *Peron* in *France*; which
 comforted them very much: these *Bells* the
Irish have a strange reverence for to this day,
 as *Colganus* tells us, and their most solemn
 oaths are by them.) And as soon as he had oc-
 casion for his *Cymbal*, he saw it swimming
 over the *Sea* to him; which he receiving so
 miraculously gave God thanks for it. *St. Ab-*
ban put his *Staff* under his feet and marched
 into the midst of the *Sea*; where he was met
 with a Troop of Devils, who threatened to
 drown him, but while he was singing *Psalms*
 in the midst of them, he heard the *Angels*
 singing who came to his relief; then an *Angel*
 told him he should be the Patron of those
 who pass the *Seas*, and whosoever entering into
 a *Ship* should call upon him, and say such an
Irish saying there mentioned should not be
 drowned: at which he more rejoiced than his
 own preservation. Another time *St. Ithamar*
 had

Capgr.

f. 54

Id. f. 188.

Colgan. 20.

Jan vit.

S Molagge

n. 17.

Id 4. Feb.

vit. Cuannaz

n. 12.

Id. p. 149.

Id. 16. Mar.

iii vit.

S. Abbani

n. 15.

had a mind to go to *Rome*, and St. *Abban* de-
 cided to go with him, but the other denied M. 10.
 him, while he was sleeping on the shore, the
 Ship puts to Sea, when he wakes he sees it
 sailing at a great distance, he prays and runs
 into the Sea after the Ship as fast as he could,
 and the Ship stood still, till he came into it,
 and then they came speedily and safely to *Brit-*
tain. St. *Moodoc's* Chariot and Horses went Colgan. 51.
 over a great Lake as if it had been dry ground. Jan. 2. 41.
 This was pretty well (if it were in hot wea-
 ther) but I am mistaken if St. *Walstan's* Horse
 did not however very much exceed his Cha-
 riot, for *Capgrave* tells us, *That it not only* Capgrave
went upon the surface of a very deep water, as L. 296.
if it had been firm ground; but the very prints
of the wheels are said to appear to this day.
 I confess I was somewhat fearful *Colganus*
 would have quite put down *Capgrave* or *John*
of Timmouth, or any other of our brave Wri-
 ters of the lives of the Saints, but this one
 passage, puts me in good hopes of the
English side. To have made the print of
 wheels remaining upon a firm ground for so
 many years would have sounded well; but to
 have them seen upon water and in the same
 place too (for else the impression would soon
 have been carried into the Sea) especially if
 it were a running stream, is a Miracle I think
 can hardly be parallel'd by *Colganus* himself.

When

Capgr. vit.
S. Mod-
wennæ.
f. 287.

When St. *Modwenna* and her three Virgin companions wanted a convenient passage from *Ireland* to *England*, an Angel did them an extraordinary kindness, saith *Capgrave*, for he cut off that snip of Land which they stood upon from the rest, and removing it from its own place, conveyed them to *England* upon it, and when he had done he settled that Island near the Castle *Daganno*, in which St. *Mod-*

Capgr. vit.
S. Decum.
f. 86.

wenna built a Church. St. *Decumanus* passed over from *Southwales* to *Somersetshire*

Id. f. 37.

near *Dunstar* on a bundle of rods; but St. *Bernac* went much beyond him, for he passed over the Sea from little *Britainy* to *Southwales* upon a piece of a Rock, which carried him on the surface of the water. This I think is somewhat beyond bare walking on

Colgan. 4.
Feb. vit.
S. Cuannæ
n. 7.

the Sea; but *Colganus* hath something to outmatch this, (as if they writ the Lives of the Saints for the whetstone) for St. *Cuanna*, and eight of his Disciples standing upon a Rock, were carried over the Sea to their own Country: which Rock was afterwards carryed to his Cell and he kept seven Lents upon it. St. *Hya* went somewhat easier upon a small leaf she saw in the Sea, and passed upon that from *Ireland* to *Cornwall*, looner than

Colgan. 23.
Feb. vit.
Guigneri
n. 12.

St. *Fingar* and all his companions could reach it. This not only is delivered by *Colganus*, but by St. *Anselm*, and is published among his

his works by *Picardus*. *St. Patrick's Altar* ought not to be forgotten, for its excellent faculty not only of swimming it self but transporting others over the Sea: for when *St. Patrick* was to go over from *Britain* to *Ireland*, a certain Leper standing on the shore begged earnestly to be admitted into the Ship with him; the Seamen absolutely denyed him. *St. Patrick* out of great pity threw over a stone Altar the *Pope* had given him, and bad the Leper sit upon that: upon which he went safely to *Ireland* and landed the same moment with them in the Ship. *David Roth* in his *Elucidations* upon *Jocelin* confesses this to be somewhat an odd Miracle, because, as he very Philosophically speaks, it is the nature of a heavy body to tend downwards; but still this, and all other fabulous Miracles must be defended by Gods omnipotency. From which Argument we must believe every thing that is told us; because *all things are possible with God*. How can we then question *St. Barr's* riding in the Sea on *St. Davids* Horse, as if it had been a Meadow? and his meeting *St. Brendan* upon the back of a Whale, and after they had saluted each other, and *St. Brendan's* saying, *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*, they parted, *St. Bar* Landed a Horse-back in *Ireland*, and told this wonderful voyage to his Disciples, and in memo-

Jocelin. in
vic. S. Patri-
cii c. 27.

David
Roth Elu-
cid. in Jocel.
c. 1.

Co'gan. vit.
S. David 1.
Martii n. 18.

of

Colgan. 22.

Martii

p. 721.

Capgr. vit.

S. Brendani

f. 45.

Joh. à Bosco

Biblio: beca

Floriac. viis

S. Mach ut

c. 6, 7.

of this Miracle they set up a brazen horse over the Image of St. *Bar*. The same Argument I suppose will defend the seven years voyage of St. *Brendan* in quest of Paradise, which in all respects was the most extraordinary, that ever was made on the Sea. Which I shall briefly relate out of *Colganus*, *Capgrave*, and *John à Bosco*. St. *Barinthus* coming to visit St. *Brendan*, was desired by him to tell what wonders he had lately seen in the Sea; then St. *Barinthus* related how his Disciple *Mernoc* had found an Island near a great Rock, called *The delightful Island*, whither he had drawn many *Monks*, and many wonders were done among them: which he understanding had a great mind to visit them; after three days Voyage they came out to meet him like swarms of Bees, his coming being revealed to them before; they had no food but Apples and Nuts, and Fruits, and Herbs; after he had observed their orders and discipline, and viewed the Island, his Disciple *Mernoc* led him to the shore, where a Boat lay ready into which they went and made Westward towards an Island which is called the *Land of Promise which the Saints are to inhabit in the last times*; after a sudden darkness and a glorious light succeeding it, they came to the Island, where all Herbs were in flower, and all Trees bore Fruit, and no stones in it but Jewels.

Jewels; after fifteen days travel they came to a great River running Eastward; while they were debating how to pass it, one comes to them in great glory, and calling them by their names commanded them to fly back for it was not lawful for them to pass over. While they were ready to ask him impertinent questions, he describes to them the glory of the *Island*, that there was no need of meat, drink, or cloathing there; that there was perpetual day, for *Jesus Christ was the light of it*. As soon as this person had conducted them to their Boat, he vanished out of their sight: and they return'd to *the delightful Island*; and by the smell of their Garments their Brethren found they had been in Paradise; for that smell lasted above forty days (as it seems it used to do with those who had been in *Paradise*.) Here *Barinthus* saith, he continued with his Disciple two whole weeks longer, and although they neither eat nor drank all that time, yet they seemed as full as if they had been drunk with new Wine. After which time he took his leave of *the delightful Island*, and returned to his own Cell. *St. Brendan* was so struck with admiration at this pleasant story, that *he fell upon his face and praised God for the great discoveries he had made to his People*. Forthwith *St. Brendan* resolves upon a Voyage thither, and our

of 3000. Monks makes choice of 14. to go with him, he proposes the keeping a fast of 40. days, by three days at a time, to prepare themselves for it. After this they prepare a small vessel for themselves (for it seems they durst not venture to walk on the Sea so far) very light the Vessel was, and covered over with tanned hides, greasing all the seams with butter (which the ancient *M. S.* in *Colgannus* and *Cappgrave* expressly mention) thus taking in provision for 40. days, they set sail, and had a good gale for 15. days, then they tugged at their Oars till they were all weary, which *St. Brendan* observing, bad them hoyle their sails and *let God drive them whither he pleased*; after 40. days, their provision was quite spent, and then they espied a high rocky Island in which after three days, they went on shore, and found a spacious hall furnished with beds, and seats, and water to wash with, and all sorts of utensils of several metals, horses bits, and horns done with Silver. Here one of the Brethren could not hold his hands, but although expressly against *St. Brendan's* command, he had secretly put up a silver bitt, but upon strict examination he confessed his fault and threw it before them; then a little black Devil went out of him and railed at *St. Brendan* for dispossessing him; but

but he commanded him to hurt no one till the day of judgement. Being refreshed here, they put to sea again and came to another Island, and after that to one called the *Paradise of Birds*, and for three months after saw nothing but sea; at last they came to the *Island of Silence* where the *Monks* never spake but at prayers; only the *Abbot* gave an account to the strangers of their miraculous way of living; for every day they had twelve loaves sent them from Heaven, and upon Festivals and Sundays twenty four, every one then having a whole loaf: which custom had continued for eighty years with them ever since the dayes of *St. Patrick*, and they never felt cold or heat, and the lamps in their Church were kindled from Heaven and never diminished with burning; the Altars and all the Vessels were made of Christal. When any of the Monks wanted any thing, they went and kneeled before the *Abbot*, but spake nothing. The *Abbot* by *Revelation* knew what they desired, and writ down his answer in a Table-book, and in all that eighty years the *Abbot* protested to *St. Brendan*, he had not heard the voice of a man but only at prayers: and they had none of them felt any infirmity of body or mind since their coming thither. While they were thus discouraging a fiery Arrow came from Heaven

and kindled all the Lamps. Many other *Islands* they came at with great variety of accidents too many to be transcribed. As their meeting with a great Whale that cast out fire and water out of his mouth which *St. Brendan* killed by his prayers and gave them a third part of him to eat; (which I suppose by the fire and water that came out of him, they believed to be well sodden already) the strange Bird that brought them a bunch of grapes as big as apples; the Griffin that was destroyed by that Bird; the Glass Sea, in which they could see to the bottom, the Christalline Pillar that reached up to the Sky, covered with so thin a Canopy that their Ship passed through one of the holes of it, every side of which Pillar contained 1400. cubits; the *Island of Black-Smiths*, where they heard the Anvils as loud as thunder, which proved at last to be the suburbs of Hell, as they guessed by the howlings they heard and the stench they smelt: the *Island of Paul the Eremit*, where he lived for forty years without food, and was all hairy and as white as snow. In the seventh year, saith the life of *S. Machutes*, they came to a certain Island where they found a Tomb of a wonderful length; then because of the infidelity of some, who would hardly believe that there ever was a man of that

that prodigious height, St. *Brendan* and the rest desired St. *Machutis* to raise him out of his Grave, which when he to satisfy their curiosity had courteously done, they asked him who he was, he told them he was a Giant (which I suppose they were convinced of by their eyes) and that his name was *Mildan* that he had lain in Hell so long, but now he was a Christian and desired to be baptized; which was performed by St. *Machutis*; if it were by dipping, it must be done in the Sea doubtless.

This Giant gave them the first discovery^{c. 7.} of the *Island of Paradise*, for once walking in the Sea, he said he had seen it, that it was compassed about with a Golden Wall and yet as clear as Crystal, but he being a Heathen could see no entrance into it. They desired him to conduct them thither, he takes the Cable of the Ship and walks into the Sea and drew the Ship after him (which as the Author of St. *Machutis* his life well observes is a thing one would hardly believe; but *Job. à Bosco* thinks he hath fully cleared all in his Notes to which I refer the Reader for his further satisfaction) presently a mighty storm arose so that they were forced back to the same *Island*, where the Giant died. While they were now debating about their return home, they beheld a small Island in the Sea;

when they were landed upon it, they desired St. *Machutis* to say Mass and when they came to *Pater noster* they found the *Island* give a terrible *shrug*, which put them all into a fright; at last they discovered their *Island* to be a great Whale, or as the most judicious among them thought, the *Leviathan*; we may well think they made hast with their Mass, and wished themselves well off of this new *Island*; upon St. *Machutis* his prayers *Leviathan* did not sport himself in the waters but stood still, till the Monks were got clear of him, then they sung *jubilate* in their Ship, and as that Author saith, returned home. But he was certainly mistaken, for *Capgrave* saith, they did at last find the *Island* of *Paradise* and all things answerable to St. *Beninthus*'s description: and staid there forty days, and then a young man bid St. *Brendan* load his Ship with Jewels and return home; for that *Island* was reserved for their successors when times of persecution should happen. Now to prove the truth of this story, (for it seems there were some Infidels that presumed to question it,) *Colganus* reckons up abundance of the *Acts* of the *Saints* wherein it is mentioned, and not only so but a *Book* of *Litanies*, above 800. years old wherein the companions of St. *Brendan* in seeking the Land of promise are solemnly invoked; and the very day is set down

down in their Ancient Martyrologie: and when St. *Brendan* was returned, he gave an account of his voyage to St. *Abban*, which he did by the command of an *Angel*, saith the Author of his life; which *Colganus* calls *an illustrious testimony of the truth of it*. Thus having given an account of this miraculous voyage, and despairing to meet with any thing like it, I here give over my enquiry into the *Miracles* which have been received and believed in the Roman Church, in the most considerable parts of *Europe*.

And now, without farther reflections upon them, I leave the Reader to judge, whether the Testimony on which they have been received, ought to be compared in point of credibility, with that Testimony on which the Christian Church hath believed the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. Only one thing I desire may be observed, *viz.* that I have not raked their Kennels, nor made use of the *Authorities* of *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Petrus de Natalibus*, *Claudius Rota*, *Cantipratanus*, and such like; no nor yet of *Cesarinus ab Heisterbach*, *Dauroulins*, *Marulus*, *Gononius*, or such as have made Collections to my hands, but have taken their most approved and late writers, and such whose *Authorities* themselves make use of in other things. *Capgrave*, is supposed to have taken most of his

lives out of *John of Timonthe Sanctilogium*,
 whom *Pits* commends for his excellent learn-
 ing, and that work particularly, for his dili-
 gence, exactness, wit and judgement which
 he shewed in it; that he cut off many super-
 fluous things with discretion; and if *Capgrave*
 took out of him, we may suppose that after
 so many strainings we have only the best left;
 considering the Character that is given of
Capgrave; an excellent Divine faith *Possavin*;
 the chief of his time for piety and learning
 faith *Harpsfield*; the most learned man that
 ever was of his order in England, say *Jose-*
phus Pamphilus and others in *Pits*; a man
 of such excellent parts and wit faith *Pits*
 himself, that he had scarce any equal, none
 superiour in England in his time; and
 among other things he commends him
 for his judgement and therefore his Authori-
 ty will not be rejected as mean and contem-
 ptable among themselves. *Colganus* his first
Tome of the Acts of the Saints of Ireland,
 which I have only made use of, was publish-
 ed at *Lovain* A. D. 1645. with great ap-
 probations from the General of his order at
Rome, from the Professors of *Lovain*, from
 the Ordinary Censor Librorum, from four
 Jesuits, and by commendatory Epistles from
Vernulens and *Erycius Puteanus* who highly
 applauds him for his industry, piety and faith-
 fulness

Pitceus de-
Scriptoribus
Angliae
A. D. 1366.

Possavin in
Apparatu v.
Capgrave.
Harpsfield.
sect. 15.
c. 17.
Pits descrip.
Ang. A. D.
1484.

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fulness; therefore my Adversaries cannot pretend that I have picked up some old worm-eaten stories with which to disgrace their miracles: No, they are such as are thought fit to be published with as great approbation, as ever any Books come forth among them. And for the *Jesuits Collection* at Antwerp, which I have sometimes made use of, begun by *Bollandus* and continued by *Henschenius* and *Papebrochius*,* it was published since A. D. 1642. and with as much ostentation of care and judgement as ever any thing was set forth in that kind; the last volume I have yet seen, came forth A. D. 1668. with sufficient approbations. So that whatever judgement be passed upon the miracles, they cannot deny the Books I have made use of to be of greatest Authority of any extant in this kind; and yet after all, I am apt to think they will meet with a great deal of infidelity from all that have not captivated their understandings to the obedience of the *Roman Faith*.

§. 9. Having thus far shewed how much the miracles boasted of in the Roman Church fall short in point of credibility of those of Christ and his Apostles, from the different nature of the testimonies, and of the miracles themselves; I now proceed to the second thing

Of the Testimonies of St. Chrysost. and St. August. against the continuance of the power of Miracles.

thing, viz to shew that the credibility of the Witnesses in the Roman Church is taken away by the Testimony of persons much more credible than themselves. For if the most impartial Witnesses utterly deny, that there is any comparison to be made between the miracles wrought in the Church in latter-ages with those wrought by Christ and his Apostles, If persons living in the communion of that Church, have asserted such things concerning their miracles, as sufficiently discover, that their Testimony is not to be relied upon; then I appeal to the judgement of any man whether it be not intolerable impudence in any to parallel the miracles of that Church with those of Christ and his Apostles?

1. The most impartial Witnesses have asserted the direct contrary to *E. W.* viz. by affirming that no comparison is to be made between the miracles of after-ages of the Church and those of Christ and his Apostles. The most impartial Witnesses in this case must be men of approved sanctity on both sides, persons of great judgement and experience, and that lived at such a time when no interest could byass them to favour one side more than the other. And such in all respects were *St. Chrysostom* and *St. Augustin*; to them therefore we appeal in this matter.

St. Chrysostom not once or twice, but sever-

ral times and upon very different occasions de-
 livers his opinion upon this subject. In his
 Commentaries upon the first Epistle of St. Paul Chrysoſt.
in 1. Ep. ad
 to the *Corinthians* and the five first verses, Corinth.
Hon. 6.
Tom. 3. ed
Savil. p.
275, &c.
 puts this Question *τις ἔτι καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κακῶν
 ἔτι; for whose sake is the power of miracles
 now forbidden?* which he at large discusses
 in that place. The substance of his answer
 is this; *either the persons who put that Que-
 ſtion do believe the miracles wrought by Christ
 or his Apostles, or they do not; if not, let
 them give an account how the Christian Re-
 ligion which is so contrary to the present in-
 terests of men should prevail so much in the
 world as it hath done: for if they believed
 without miracles that would appear to be a
 far greater miracle. But, saith he, because
 no miracles are wrought now, make not that
 an evidence that none were wrought then;
 for then it was useful there should be mira-
 cles, and now it is useful there should not.*
 Can any Testimony be plainer and more ex-
 press than this? Is it possible he should be-
 lieve as great miracles were done in the
 Church afterwards as by Christ and his Apo-
 stles, that not only asserts that there were
 none, but saith it would not be useful to the
 Church there should be any? Because as he
 adds immediately after, *those who preach now
 do not preach by Inspiration as the Apostle did,*
 but

Μὴ τοιῦν
 τὸ μὴ γί-
 νεσθαι τοῦ
 σημεῖα,
 τεκμήριον
 τοῦ τῶ μὴ
 γινώσκοντος
 τὸ ἔτι καὶ
 χριστιανῶν
 εἶναι, καὶ
 οὐκ ἔτι
 γινώσκον-
 τας.

but only that doctrine which they received from them : and therefore make use of their miracles to confirm the truth of what they spake. But why, saith he, were miracles useful then and not now ? because the continual working of miracles would lessen faith, and our Saviour saith, Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed. But if thou wilt not be convinced without signs, thou maist see signs, although not such as Christ and his Apostles wrought, viz. the accomplishment of prophecies ; several of which he there mentions. Why then, saith he, do not all believe now ? to which he gives this answer, that the first Christians did not believe only on the account of the miracles they saw, but by seeing the holy and exemplary lives of those who wrought them ; It is, saith he, therefore the want of the primitive sanctity rather than miracles which makes men yet continue in their infidelity : let those that have a mind to be saved search the Scriptures, wherein they will find both the miracles they wrought and the holy conversations which they led. But if a man be found that hath any foot-steps left of the ancient wisdom he presently leaves the City and conversation, and betakes himself to the mountains, a fair pretence is made for this to prevent the deadning of devotion ; as though it were not bet-

ter to be duller and to gain others, than re-
 maining in a mountain to see round about
 thee thy Brethren destroyed. As he excellent-
 ly speaks, though I doubt with little satis-
 faction to the Monastick pretenders to per-
 fection in the Roman Church. Elsewhere
 complaining of the degenerate lives of Chri-
 stians, from whence now, saith he, shall Chri-
 stians be perswaded to believe? from mira-
 cles? *ἀντὶ τῶν γινώσκων τὰς ἀποδείξεις* but those are not now
 wrought. Who is there now a days saith he,
 in another place to be compared with St. Paul,
 who had such a divine power going along with
 his preaching; who was terrible to Devils if
 he only appeared and said nothing; but if all
 we were met together with a thousand prayers
 and tears, we could not do so much as St. Pauls
 handkerchief did. And is it possible to be-
 lieve that St. Chrysostom ever thought the
 miracles of after ages could be compared with
 those of Christ and his Apostles? No, he
 utterly blasts the Testimony of such who af-
 terwards have pretended to miracles, unless
 they can shew a plain reason why miracles
 should cease in St. Chrysostoms time, and be
 so common again afterwards. It is evident
 that the world was not so fully converted to
 Christianity then, but there was as great oc-
 casion for miracles, as could be pretended in
 succeeding Ages; all the difference that I can
 find

Chrysost.,
 in 1. ad
 Tim. l. 6. v.
 1. p. 288.

De Sacra-
 dot. l. 4.
 p. 37.

find was, that men were honeſter and wiſer then; but as the Chriſtian world degenerated from the piety and goodneſs of the primitive times it pretended to come nearer to the Age of Chriſt and his Apoſtles in doing wonders. To the ſame purpoſe with St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks the Author of the imperfect work upon St. *Matthew*, who hath ſometimes gone under St. *Chryſoſtom*'s name: and herein differs not at all from him, for he ſaith, *that formerly true Chriſtians were diſſerenced from the false by the miracles which they wrought; the false Chriſtians either not being able to work any, or not ſuch as the true Chriſtians wrought; but empty ſigns ſuch as cauſed admiration, but brought no benefit with them. But now, ſaith he, this working of miracles is wholly taken away and only pretended to by false Chriſtians.* Let E.W. and ſuch as he, conſider theſe words, and ſee who they are that pretend to miracles ſince the primitive days. *Carolus Scribanus* who undertook to write a defence of *Lipſius* his *Virgo Hallenſis*, thinks to eſcape this Teſtimony by ſaying, *that this Author only denys ſuch kind of miracles to continue ſtill as were in the Apoſtles times, viz. the ſpeaking and underſtanding tongues.* But E.W. makes no limitation at all, nay he not only ſaith the ſame, but greater miracles have been done in the

Auſtor. im-
perfect o. in
Matth. hom.
49.

Nunc autem
ſignis in
operatio om-
nino levata
eſt: magis
autem &
apud eos in-
venitur, qui
falsi ſunt
Chriſtiani
fieri ſicili.

Carol.
Scribanii
Orthodox.
Fidei Con-
ſ. o. l. 4.
c. 2.

the Roman Church; and it is apparent that these very miracles have been pretended to in the Roman Church, as not only concerning *St. Vincentius Ferrerius* but many others before him. We are told by some that *Ephraem Syrus* understood the Greek tongue by the prayers of *St. Basil*; but *Baronius* himself explodes it for a Fable, however it be still believed by others. If *Capgrave* and such writers may be credited, *St. David*, *St. Paternus*, *St. Thelias* all preached at *Hierusalem* in their own language, and the people understood them as if they had spoken in theirs. Some such exposition they had heard of the Apostles speaking in strange tongues on the day of Pentecost, and because these were at *Hierusalem*, the same miracle must be related of them. But methinks, they should not have lost the gift they had of speaking in the languages of the several countries they passed through, which is likewise attributed to them; for if God gave them such a miraculous gift only for the conveniency of travelling, it seems hard they should want it when they were to preach at *Hierusalem*. *St. Goodric* spake French to a Monk on the day of *Pentecost* saith *Capgrave*, although he never understood that Language before; which is not very probable, in so great a Traveller as he represents him to be. But the greatest instance of this kind

David
Roth.
Elucid. iz
Jocelin. p.
120.

Baron.
A. D. 370.
n. 56.

Capgrave
vit. *St. Thel.*
f. 281.

Colgan.
vit. *St. Da.*
vid n. 20.

Capgrave.
vit. *St.*
Goodric
f. 144.

Lud, Basil.
Bibliotheca
Concion-
atorum p. 3.
c. 65.
Raynald.
A.D. 1414
n. 20.
Mariana de
rebus Hisp.
l. 19. c. 12.
Ribadineira
Flos Se-
ctorum 13.
Junii.
Vita Sr.
Antonii
c. 15. 17. ed.
de la Haye
1641.
Scotidell.
6. et. mun-
at. Seduli.
tract. de
Sanctis Or.
Ribaden.
16. Junii.
114.
St. Anto-
nin. Chron.
Ton. 3. tit.
24. Sect. 2.
Spondan.
A.D. 1403.
n. 7.
Nicol de
Clemangis
ep. 113.

kind is *E. W's* admirable *Saint St. Vincentius Ferrerius*, of whom two strange miracles are related, one that speaking in one Tongue, he was understood by his Auditors of several countries in their own languages, another that although people were at never so great distance from him (for they say he had sometimes 80000. Auditors) yet he was easily heard by them all. Had not this man an admirable voice, or the people admirable ears! *Mariana* saith this happened to none but him from the Apostles days. And yet *Ribadineira* relates the very same thing of *St. Anthony* of *Padua*; and that he was heard at two miles distance: which is likewise affirmed by the Writer of his Life printed before his Works, and by *Hermannus Scheidel, Sedulius* and others. Nay *Ribadineira* tells that *St. Ludgard* speaking Dutch, was perfectly understood by some French Women that understood only their own language. It seems then this was not *St. Vincentius* his peculiar gift, if it were his at all. I find that *Raynaldus* and *Spondanus* appeal to the Testimony of *Nicol. de Clemangis* concerning this miraculous gift: who was Secretary to Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth to whom *St. Vincentius* had been Master of the Palace at *Avignon*. Of him *Clemangis* saith, that it is not improbably believed that he had the gift of tongues: he

he dares not we see absolutely affirm it, although he heard him preach at *Genoa*. But what arguments doth he produce for it? one is, *that although he were a Spaniard, he spake Italian so readily and distinctly that even the Women understood him.* And is it such a miracle for a Spaniard to speak Italian well that it ought to be compared with the Apostles gift of tongues? But the great wonderment is yet behind, *viz. that though he spake Italian words yet all people of other nations understood him:* and for this he only tells us, *he heard a German say some such thing, and for his own part, although he did scarce understand Italian, yet he perfectly understood what he said.* Which is no such great wonder considering the matter of his preaching chiefly on one subject of the day of Judgment, which requiring the use of such words as are taken from the Latine, may easily be understood by a person who thorowly understands Latine, though he be not perfect in Italian. The whole credit therefore of this miracle depends upon the testimony of this *German*; and who can tell how much he understood either of his Sermon or of the Italian Tongue? For he saith no more, *than that he understood him as well as if his words had been spoken in his own tongue:* which surely he might do without a miracle, unless

it were a miracle for a German to understand Italian. But concerning this, and all the other supposed miracles of *this admirable Saint*, we have a remarkable Testimony of one of the ablest men of that Age, (that knew *Vincentius*, and a letter of his is extant which he writ to him; wherein he expresses no such admiration of him.) and that is the famous Chancellor of *Paris*, *John Gerson*. He wrote a discourse against the Sect of *Hippers*, (which by the preaching and encouragement of *Vincentius* was again revived, and 10000. saith *Rauzanus* in his life followed him up and down, many of which did so soundly lash themselves according to *Vincentius* his instructions, that he saith *some account it a miracle that none fell into any sickness by it*). In which discourse he lays open the folly of this Sect, and saith, *men might as well brand themselves with hot Irons or castrate themselves, as hope to expiate their sins by such bloody whippings of their bodies*. But besides this, *Vincentius* preached of the very near approach of Antichrist and the day of Judgment, both which *Gerson* dislikes in him; but saith he, *if any man offers to bring new miracles to confirm the near approach of Antichrist let him know that the world is in its dotage and therefore is easily imposed upon by the apparitions of false miracles*. As an old man

Rauzan.
vic. St. Vincentii apud
Bz v. A.D.
1419
Sect 20.
apud Suri-
um 5.
Aprilis.

Joh. Gerson. c. Sectam sc. flagellantium
Tom. I.
p. 641.

man is troubled with dreams in his sleep; therefore, saith he, miracles are now to be vehemently suspected, unless a very diligent examination be first made of them. See now what judgement this truly great man in that Age, passes upon these pretended miracles of this admirable Saint! However, it hence appears that in the Church of Rome they have not pretended to any one sort of miracles alone; but let them be of what kind soever, some among them (setting only aside their own resurrection from the dead) have challenged to themselves the glory of them. But after all, this is a miserable shift to avoid this Testimony; for this Author makes no other difference of signs; than that the miracles of false Christians were only in appearance, and brought no advantage to the world; whereas the miracles of the true Christians were real and beneficial to the world; but now, saith he, this working of miracles is wholly taken away: and only false Christians pretend to it. Which testimony is so strong that I expect no other answer to it, than calling the Author of it Heretick and Arrian.

But against St. Chrysostom, he objects more plausibly, viz. from the daily wonders which he confesses are wrought by the Martyrs: and particularly by Babylas when the Devil told

Chrysost.
in Ba yl.
Act. 13.

Julian his Month was stoppt at the Oracle at Daphne, since Babylas his bones were laid there. It is not to be denied, that St. Chrysostom did look upon this as a wonderful thing; and saith afterwards *that the Devils still expressed such consternation at the shrines of the Martyrs as might convince the impudence of such who disbelieved the miracles of the Apostles.* But St. Chrysostom speaking of these extraordinary things which were done by the Martyrs calls them *θαύματα* and not *σημεία* as he does the other; for he saith expressly, *that the σημεία were ceased*, i. e. all such miracles as gave any Testimony to the infallible commission which persons had from God to deliver his doctrine; but yet there were may *θαύματα still done by the Martyrs*, i. e. such extraordinary things which we cannot suppose God would permit to happen, if these Martyrs had not been highly in favour with God; and therefore these were only attestations of their Sanctity in a time when they were so much despised as they were by Julian and his followers; and when Paganism began to recover again; and it was very agreeable, with the wisdom and methods of Divine Providence in an extraordinary manner to vindicate the innocency of the Martyrs, as he did in the case of *Babylas to Julian himself*, by stopping the Oracle by the nearness

nearness of his Bones to the *Temple of Daphne*, and when they were removed, by setting the Temple on fire in so wonderful a manner as it is at large related by *St. Chrysostom* and the Ecclesiastical Historians of that time.

The same account we are to give of *St. Augustinus* opinion in this matter. In his *Book of True Religion*, having shewed how necessary miracles were to confirm the Authority of those who were sent by God to declare his Will, he adds *that by their working miracles they are become unnecessary to us now*: for saith he, *since the Catholick Church is now established and diffused through the World, Miracles are not suffered to continue to our times; that we may not always seek after visible things, and lest custom should abate the esteem of them.* Much to the same purpose he discourses in his *Book of the usefulness of Believing* against the *Manichees*; where he shews *the necessity that there was of miracles to confirm the Christian faith at first, and the nature of the miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles, and then puts the Question as St. Chrysostom did, Cur, inquit, ista modo non fiunt?* Why are not such miracles wrought now? to which he answers, *because miracles would not move men if there were not something wonderful in them; and there would be nothing wonderful if they were com-*

August.
de verâ Re-
lig. c. 25.

De utilit.
cred. c. 15.
15.

Retract.
L. 1. c. 13.

ib. c. 14.

mon. It is true that St. *Augustin* did consider both these places in his *Book of Retractions* (not as though he Recanted every thing which he handles there, for *Retractions* in St. *Augustins* sense was no more than to review) for mentioning the former saying; he adds, *that it is true, for*, saith he, *the miraculous gifts of tongues are not now poured out when hands are laid on the baptizod, nor are sick persons healed at the shadow of the preachers of Christ and many other such things, which it is certain are now ceased.* But he would not have it so understood as though *no miracles at all were then wrought in the name of Christ*; for then, he saith, *he knew that a blind man was healed at the shrines of the Martyrs of Milan; and so many other such things were done that they could neither know them all nor enumerate those he did know.* And to the other place, he saith, *that he gave that Answer, because neither so many nor so great miracles are wrought now as were by Christ or his Apostles.* And can any sayings be more contradictory than this of St. *Augustins* and E. W's asserting, *that as many and as great (nay greater) miracles are wrought since as ever were in their days.* It is true that St. *Augustin* doth there say, *that there were some mirac'es still left in the Church,* and he produces

duces several instances elsewhere ; but in the same place he denies the necessity of these miracles since the large propagation of Christianity in the world , and accounts him a prodigie that yet seeks after prodigies to confirm his faith. Only he shews Gods extraordinary kindness to his Church in that time (while there were so many Pagans yet left among them) that he did not leave them without some Testimonies of his miraculous Power in the cure of diseases at the memories of the Martyrs or upon the prayers of the faithful, of which he there gives several examples : but elsewhere he shews, that the miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles were wrought for the benefit and satisfaction of future Ages as well as their own, that so none might complain for want of a power of miracles. And when the Donatists afterwards appealed to the miracles wrought by Donatus and Pontius, and to visions and revelations ; St. Augustin very smartly bids them lay aside those feigned miracles or Diabolical impostures: for either they were not true, or if they were, we have so much the more reason to beware of them ; because our Saviour hath foretold that false Prophets should arise working signs and wonders, that if it were possible they should deceive the very Elect. But it may be said, that in all this St. Augustin doth

De Civit.
Dei l. 22.
c. 8.

In Psal. 130.
v. 1.

De unit. Eccl.
cles. c. 16.

only upbraid the Schismatical Donatists with lying miracles and not take away the evidence of miracles from the true Church; to that St. *Augustin* himself answers, that the Catholics do not bring the evidence of miracles to prove the true Church by, nor yet of Visions and Revelations; for, saith he, all such things are to be approved, because they are done in the Catholick Church; and not that the Church is proved to be Catholick because such things are done in it: and therefore saith, that controversie of the Church must be ended by the Scriptures. From whence it necessarily follows that St. *Augustin* could never think the miracles done in his time, were to be compared with those wrought by Christ or his Apostles, or could give equal evidence of credibility either concerning the Doctrine or the Church which delivered it. Never did two men more plainly contradict each other in this point than St. *Augustin* and *E. W.* who appeals to miracles for proof of the Catholick and infallible Church, and such as are equal to those of Christ and his Apostles; but whether St. *Augustin* or *E. W.* deserve the greater credit that is another controversie which I am not now at leisure to engage in. To the same purpose St. *Augustin* speaks in another place, viz. that miracles are no proof of the true Church; for

though

Tract 14.
in Joh. c. 3.

though Pontius and Donatus might do wonders and see visions, yet Christ hath now forewarned us, quia & miraculis decipi non debemus, we ought not now to be deceived by miracles. The force of which argument from our Saviours caution depends upon this, viz. that the Christian Religion being once established by plain and evident miracles, there would be no necessity in after ages to have recourse to miracles again: For if no new Doctrine be delivered, what need can there be of new miracles? *Let no man therefore now complain* saith the same St. Augustin, *because Christ doth not work the same miracles now that he did in former times; for he hath said Blessed are they which have not seen and yet have believed; whom doth he mean, saith he, but us, and those who are to come after us: But those miracles were wrought by Christ to draw men to faith; and this faith is now spread over the world. And now although he does not work the same cures, he does greater; now the blind eyes do not receive sight by a miracle of Christ, but the blind hearts do see by the doctrine of Christ; now dead bodies are not raised, but souls that are dead, in living bodies do rise again. Now deaf ears are not opened, but deaf minds are by the power of Gods word, so that they believe and live well, who were unbelievers* and

*De verbis
Don. Serm.
18.*

Quest. ex
Novo Te-
flan. c. 63.

and wicked and disobedient. Could any man of common sense have used these expressions ; if he had thought there was either any necessity of miracles being wrought in his time , or that there were such miracles then wrought which might be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles ? and as he elsewhere fully speaks to this purpose ; *Signs and Miracles were wrought by the Apostles to bring men from infidelity to faith ; that men seeing those things done which are impossible with men, may acknowledge that the preaching is from God , by which power they were to prove that there was reason to believe. Among believers then signs and miracles are not not necessary ; but only a firm hope.*

From these Testimonies of St. *Augustin* thus laid together we observe these things.

1. That the main intention of miracles was to convince unbelievers.
2. That the Christian faith being established, there was no longer any necessity of the power of miracles.
3. That though there were not any such necessity ; yet God out of his abundant kindness, was pleased to do some extraordinary things among them in their time.
4. That in disputes about the true Church they never appealed to the Power of miracles ; but to the Scriptures whose Doctrine was already confirmed by Miracles.
5. That those out
of

of the true Church might make as great a pretence to miracles, visions and revelations as those who were in it, as appears by the Donatists. 6. That some kind of miracles were wholly ceased then in the Church, as the gift of tongues and the common miraculous cures of diseases by those that preached. 7. That those which did then remain, were not in any respect for number or quality to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles; as the cure of one blind man at *Milan*, or those other cures of a *Cancer*, a *Fistula*, or the two shaking persons in *Africa*: for when himself speaks most favourably of the miracles then wrought, he saith they were not so great, nor so many, as those done by Christ or his Apostles.

§. 10. But what shall we now say to the succeeding Ages of the Church? For after the first 600. years were passed, and there were no more *St. Chrysostoms*, or *St. Augustins*, and one of the greatest Prodigies, (as *Tully* said of old) *was a wise man*, the pretence of the common working of miracles was again started, by those who undertook to give an account of the *lives* of the *Saints*; for they thought they said nothing in effect of them if they did not attribute the power of miracles upon any occasion to them. Then *St. Gregory*

Of the Testimonies of their own Writers against the miracles of the Roman Church.

gory and St. Bede shewed the way to the rest; and by their own credulity and want of judgement gave a pattern and encouragement to all the Monkish Tales and impostures afterwards. But we must acknowledge our obligation to some more ingenuous and judicious men in the Roman Church, who in several Ages have blasted the credit, and discovered the Impostures of these *Legendary Writers*: which is the next thing I am to prove; viz.

2. *That the credibility of their miracles in the Church of Rome, is destroyed by the Testimony of their own more judicious Writers.* Ludovicus Vives, after he hath discoursed of all other Histories, comes to that of the Church, and particularly the *Lives of the Saints*, of which he saith, *that they are generally corrupted with abundance of lies, while the Writer indulges his own passion, and sets down not what the Saints did, but what he would have had him done: so that in their lives we see the mind of the Writer, and not the truth. For there have been those who thought it a piece of piety to tell lies for Religion: which is a very dangerous thing left by that means the true be rejected for the sake of the false.* This saying of Vives Melchior Canus, a man highly esteemed in the Church of Rome, recites and approves, with a great deal more to the same purpose, wherein he saith, *that the lives of*
the

*Ind. Vives
detrad. Di-
scipl. l. 5.*

*Melch. Can.
loc. Thol
l. II. c. 6.*

the Philosophers are more severely written by Laetius than the Lives of the Saints by Christians, and that Suetonius hath with more honesty and integrity delivered the acts of the Cæsars than the Catholicks have done the Acts of Martyrs, Virgins and Confessors. And afterwards he charges them with wilful falsifying either only to deceive or to gain by it, of which the one is sordid and the other pernicious: and he produces some instances of such miracles, which he saith, are without number. Neither doth he only understand this of such men as the Author of the Golden Legend, or of the speculum exemplorum; but he plainly confesses, that their most grave Writers in reporting the miracles of Saints have followed uncertain reports and conveyed them to Posterity. In which they either gave great liberty to themselves or yielded too much to the desires of the People, whom they found not only ready to believe these miracles, but to be fond and greedy of them. Therefore, saith he, they have reported some signs and miracles; not that they did willingly believe them themselves, but because they would not be wanting to the pious desire of the people; which was it seems, that they should tell lies to please them. And if they had not their desires fully answered in this, they were very insatiable. After this, he particularly

Lo. Th.
log l. 12.
progn.

instances in *Bede* and *Gregory*, the one of which in his History, the other in his Dialogues he charges with relating miracles upon common reports, which the Criticks of this Age will judge to be uncertain. And we may be sure *Cannus*, who tells us, what an excellent wit his Master *Victoria* said he had, was one of them. But is now the credibility of the miracles in the Roman Church to be compared with that of Christ and his Apostles? Did they who writ the miracles recorded of them indulge their own affections, and make Tales to please the people; as we see *Cannus* saith their gravest Writers of Miracles did? Or did they take up things upon common rumors, and from thence divulge them to posterity? as we see *Cannus* charges even *St. Gregory*, and *St. Bede* with doing. What would become of our Christianity, if we had no better grounds to believe the miracles of Christ and his Apostles? If any should say so of the reporters of their miracles they would be justly charged with betraying the Doctrine of Christianity, and making it suspected to be a fable, an Imposture a fabulous story, as *E. W.* speaks in the case of the miracles related by *St. Antonin*: And yet *Melchior Cannus* expressly saith of him, that he did not make it his business to write what was true and certain, but to let nothing pass

pass

pass that he could meet with: And that he
 and Vincentius Belovacensis were so far from
 weighing what they writ in an exact ballance,
 that they did not so much as make use of a
 common judgement. Whereas our Critical
 E. W. faith. And who dares say that so great
 a Doctor and most modest Prelate as St. An-
 tonin was so frontless as to write that we read
 without assurance and certainty? We see
 Melchior Canus dares say it; and that not only
 of St. Antonin whom he looks on as far infe-
 rior to the other, but of his venerable Bede
 too, whom E. W. calls a great Scholar, and
 a man highly esteemed the whole Christian
 world over; I shall not go about to diminish
 his reputation in other things; but he had
 need of a good easie faith that can swallow the
 miracles related by him, whether those of
 St. Cuthbert, which E. W. mentions or others.
 What must we think of the Angels appearing
 to St. Cuthbert a horseback when he was a boy,
 and prescribing him a Poultice to cure his sore
 knee? and of his seeing the Gates of Heaven
 opened and the soul of St. Aidan conveyed
 through them by a troop of Angels? Of his re-
 ceiving three hot loaves from an Angel, that
 were whiter than lillies & sinelt beyond roses,
 and tasted sweeter than hony? Of his frightening
 the crows from stealing the thatch off from
 the Covent, and the penance they submitted

Reason
 and Reli-
 gion Disc.
 2. c. 8. n. 6.

S. Cuthberti
 vita Au-
 flore Bedā
 tom. 3. &
 apud Colg.
 20 Martii.
 & Bollard.
 3. tom.
 Martii.
 C. 2.
 C. 4.
 C. 7.
 C. 20.

C. 45.

to for the injury they had done; and the Satisfaction they made by bringing him a good piece of Lard with which he used afterwards to grease his Boots? Of the vertue of his shoo's in curing a man of a Palsie after St. *Cuthbert's* death, being put on upon his feet? Of these I shall only ask E. W's. Question, *Are any such sien now a days wrought among Protestant Bishops? No, God knows their faith is a stranger to such kind of miracles.*

Baron. 201.
in Martyr.
Decemb.
23.

But what shall we say to *Canus* who takes away the Authority of St. *Gregory* too as well as *Bede* in this matter of miracles? I know *Baronius* falls very foul upon *Canus* for speaking so freely of St. *Gregory* in this particular, especially because he doth not mention those miracles which he looks on as undeserving credit; but I think he ought to have thanked him for his modesty and silence herein, in not exposing *Gregories* credulity to contempt by insisting upon them. But in truth St. *Gregory* in those *Books of Dialogues* (for I see no reason to deny them to be his own) was the *Father of Legends*, and most of the others afterwards were made in imitation of his; as might be particularly made appear by many Instances. And *Bede* followed the Copy which *Gregory* had set him, and from hence such a swarm of *Legends* arose, that in the succeeding Ages it is hard to say whether there were

were more Ignorance or Wonders. To give only a tast of some of the miracles reported by Gregory; the first is of *Honoratus* the Abbot that stopt a great stone in the middle of its falling from a great mountain by making the sign of the cross towards it, and there it is seen hanging as it were in the air. But in my opinion St. *Dunstan* out-did him, who not only, saith *Capgrave* stopt a piece of Timber so falling, but with the sign of the cross made it return back to the place from whence it fell. This was the greater miracle although the other had more to shew for it; if the stone had hung quite in the air; which I confesse I do a little question. *Libertinus* raised one from the dead by *Honoratus* his shoe being laid upon his breast, saith Gregory as St. *Cuthberts* shoes in *Bede* cured a man of the Palsie. The Gardiner of the Monastery being troubled with a Thief that came over the hedge, and stole his herbs commanded a Serpent to follow him and to lie just cross in the way he was wont to come over; the Serpent presently obeyed, the Thief was taken and the Serpent released. From hence afterwards, he scarce deserved the name of a Saint of whom they could not tell some extravagant stories of the power he had over Serpents: of which multitudes of Instances may be seen in *Colgannus* and *Capgrave* besides many other more ancient

Greg. Dia-
log. l. 1.
c. 1.

capgr. f.
92. 1.

Greg. l. 1.
c. 2.

c. 3.

- than they. The story of *St. Equitius* in *Gregory* and *St. Elias* in *Capgrave*, as to the way of their being delivered from all lustful thoughts by an *Angel* appearing in the night and seeming to castrate them, is the very same: by which we see out of what Magazine the later *Legendaries* took their materials, which they altered and adorned with such varieties of circumstances as would best go down with the people. Methinks then *Baronius* might have let alone *Canus* in this matter, and not provoked others to give an account of the foppish miracles contained in that *Primitive Legend*, such as, *the Devils entring into a Nun* because she eat a *Lettice* in the garden without crossing it; and when *St. Equitius* demanded of him what he did there, the *Devil* answered, he was sitting upon the *Lettice* and she came and eat him up; but it was well for her that *St. Equitius* sent him going without prescribing her a vomit: as, *Nonnosus* his removing a stone by his prayers, which fifty *Toke of Oxen* could not stirr, and all this for no other end but only to make way for a little Kitchen garden for the *Monks*: as, the same man's praying the pieces of a glass *Lamp* whole again, only for fear of the displeasure of his superior: which was a substantial reason for so pretty a miracle. And his multiplying oyl by a miracle rather than the lazy *Monks* should
- c. 4.
- It.
- c. 7.
- It.
- It.

go out to gather Olives : as, Boniface's receiving 12. Crowns by a miracle, because his Nephew complained he had opened his Chest and had taken away so many from him to give to the poor; and his adjuring all the Eruc's in his garden in the name of Christ to be gone and not eat up his herbs, which they immediately did, and not one remained : and making the Fox by his prayers bring back the pullet he had stolen, because he complained to God Almighty in the Church, (whither he run upon this sad disaster) that he could eat none of his Mothers Poultry : as, Martirius his signing the cake in the embers with the sign of the cross without touching it; only making it towards the fire, at which it gave a great crack and was perfectly signed with the cross when they took it out. These may serve only for a taste of the kind of these miracles out of his first Book, that men may judge with what reason *Canus* made such exceptions to *Gregories* Authority in this point of miracles. It would be too tedious to give an account of the miracles in his three other Books, but they are so much alike, that by seeing these we may judge of the rest.

Thus we see the opinion of *Vives* and *Canus* about the Testimony on which miracles are believed in the Roman Church; but we must not think these persons were singular in this opinion; for in several ages men of any ho-

c. 9.

c. 11.

Pet. Da-
miani vit.
St. Romu-
aldi prolog.

nesty and judgement have complained of the *pious frauds* which have been used in these matters : and that some thought them lawful to be used as long as they were for the honour of the Church or the Saints. So *Petrus Damiani* saith *there were some who thought they honoured God by making lies to extoll the virtues of his Saints* ; which words he uses upon this occasion of miracles ; and goes about seriously to confute them , *by telling them that God doth not stand in need of our lies* ; and to the same purpose he speaks in the preface to the lives of St. *Maurus* and of *Dominicus Ferratus* written by him. What security can there be then , of the miracles reported by them *who think it lawful to invent lies for the Honour of the Church or of the supposed Saints who live and dye in it* ? If the Primitive Church had made lying for the sake of Christianity lawful , it would have been the most reasonable pretence for infidelity ; that could be supposed. For how can any man think himself obliged to believe another , that doth not think himself obliged to speak truth ? If the Primitive Christians had made lying an indifferent thing all their sufferings could have given no security of the truth of their Testimony , for notwithstanding the falshood of their Testimony , they might then hope however , to be rewarded in another world , and

con-

consequently might suffer any thing here; but when they declared at the same time, that lying was utterly unlawful, and yet ventured to suffer the utmost extremity to attest the truth of their Testimony; this gives the highest credibility to the things asserted by them. But we have no satisfaction as to either of these things in the witnesses of the miracles in the Roman Church; no man hath ever lost so much as a finger to give Testimony to one miracle among them, and supposing they should suffer, we have no assurance but they might think it lawful to lie for their Religion; and therefore all their sufferings could not prove the truth of their Testimony. We have no sentence or declaration of their Church against *pious frauds*; but we have large confessions from their own Writers of the practice of them, and the good end they are designed for, *viz.* to keep up the devotion of the people.

John Gerson honestly confesses *this to be the end of the Legends and miracles of the Saints and their visions and revelations so much talked of in the Roman Church viz. to stir up*

John Gerson declar. veritatum tom. 1. p. 415.

the piety and good affections of the people: for these things, saith he, are not proposed by the Church to be believed as true; but they are rather to consider them as things that might be done, than as things that were done. And it is no matter, saith he, if some things that

are really false are piously believed; so that they be not believed as false or known to be false at the same time. And I wish he had added one condition more, viz. that the infallibility of the Church be not to be proved by them; for in that case I hope it is of some little concernment whether they be true or false. But are we not like to meet with credible Testimonies in such things where the most honest and learned among them think it is no great matter whether they be true or false? No wonder then, that *Lyra* complains of the frauds used by the Priests in the Churches to make the people believe that miracles were wrought; no wonder, that *Cajetan* so much flights the argument drawn from modern miracles and revelations and saith it is only fit for old women; could any man have done this, that had believed them to be any other than cheats and impostures? Especially in so solemn a matter as the immaculate conception, and in a discourse addressed to *Leo 10.* and prepared for the *Lateran Council*. By which we see, that the learned and wise men among themselves when they are put to declare their minds, speak as freely of these matters, as we can do; but still they think it fit the common people should be cheated and deceived by them; so a learned and ingenuous writer of the *French Church* and *Doctor* of the *Sorbon* tells

Lyra in c.
14. *Dan.*

Cajetan.
opusc. trac.
10. de con-
cept. B. V.
ad Leon.
10. c. 5.

tells us, that he was so far from receiving thanks from many for laying open the fables and impostures of the Monks, that they referred him to Polybius his judgement about these matters; who determines, that allowance ought to be given to those Writers who invent miracles and stories to keep up the devotion of the People. The occasion of Polybius delivering this judgement of his was this, It seems the Heathen Priests made almost as many and as foolish stories of miracles about their Images, as they are wont to do in the Church of Rome; among the rest, it was verily believed among the *Bargelietæ* that the Image of *Diana* being exposed to the air could receive no injury either by snow or rain; and the same was believed of the Image of *Vesta* among the *Jassians*: and these miracles were written by their Historians. But *Polybius* declares his great opposition to these follies; such saith he, as the miracle *Theopompus* relates of *Jupiter's* Temple in *Arcadia*, that the bodies of those who are in it never cast any shadows. Yet he yeilds, that something of this nature must be done to keep up the devotion of the people; but he would have it within bounds, although, he saith, it be very hard to determine those bounds. Now saith *Launoy*, this saying of *Polybius* I have been often told of by all sorts of men who pretended hereby to secure Christian piety, but

Joh. Lau-
noy de curā
Eccle. pro.
vene. at. ff.
art. 30.

Coroll. 1.
Polyb. H-
stor. l. 16.
p. 732. Ed.
Casaub.

*I found them worse than Polybius; for he would have bounds set, but these will allow none. For they judge of all things by the absoluteness of Gods power; and regard not whether the things were done or no, as long as they might be done. But as he excellently adds, a false Religion indeed, according to Polybius, stands in need of such cheats and tricks to support 'it; but true Religion wants no such helps; the more simple, pure and innocent it is, it is so much the greater and more glorious; it is corrupted when it hath any thing unlike it self mixed with it. They who think otherwise of Christian Religion do not know it; but design to make a Religion out of truth and falsehood. Thus far that ingenuous man. By whom we see what the opinion is, which the more sagacious Persons in the Roman Church have of these *Monkish tales and impostures*; yet they generally are for keeping them up in as much credit with the people, as they can, and discountenance those who go about to undeceive them. But is not the Testimony of these things by their own confession very credible the mean while, and fit to be compared with the Testimony upon which the miracles of Christ and his Apostles is received in the Christian Church? It is hard to think that such men do believe Christianity in their hearts that dare publish such impudent com-*

pari-

parisons. When the impostures of this nature in the *Church of Rome*, have been, like *Astrology* in old *Rome*, alwaies complained of and always practised: as will easily appear to any one that will peruse the Testimonies brought by *Launoy* in that discourse concerning counterfeited *Saints*, *Relicks* and *miracles*, which I shall not transcribe. The whole Christian World is obliged to the Ingenuity of such men who have taken pains in the discovery and confutation of such Impostures; as the Monks have abused the people with.

But we are not only beholding to such learned men who have purposely done this, but to those who have lately published such writings of the *middle Ages* whereby we understand their History far better than we could do before. As for instance to our present purpose: among other very useful things published by *Lucas D'achery* we have the works of *Guibert* Abbot of *Nogent* in *France*, who lived in the beginning of the 12. Century a time brim full of *miracles* and *superstition*: in his works we have a *discourse* of the *Relicks of the Saints*, which was occasioned by a pretence the *Monks* of *St. Medard* made to a tooth of our Saviour, wherein he begins with a complaint of the dishonour which is put upon the *Saints* by the false stories which are made of them, and then proceeds to the false *Saints* which

Guibert
Abbas de
Pignoribus
Sanctorum.
l. 1. c. 1.

which were worshipped by them, as *Saint Piron*, whom upon enquiry he found to have fallen drunk into a Well and so dyed, yet this man was worshipped, he saith, both in Britain and in France: and after telling some ridiculous miracles which he was willing however to believe to be true, he falls upon the false and counterfeit ones; of which, he saith, that they who ascribe to God that which he never thought to do, as much as lies in them make

c. 2. l. 11. 5 *God a Lye*: and he produces this instance of his own knowledge; a certain boy that belonged to a souldier happened to dye upon good Friday; the people were ready to attribute great Sanctity to him for dying upon that day; and of a sudden great resort was made to his tomb, and many oblations were made and wax Candles offered, and his tomb compassed about with great devotion, the people coming out of Britain to it. The Abbot and Monks seeing the people make such resort thither, were willing to have it believed that miracles were wrought there. And presently some of the people feigned themselves deaf, others mad, and others lame to bring greater credit by their cures to the young Saint; that was but newly set up, and the good Abbot gave encouragement to them. But *Guibert* detests his Nebulosity for it, as he calls it, a word though hardly to be met with elsewhere, yet very fitly expresses such

such horrible cheating and deluding the people. Another instance, he gives immediately after done in his presence, viz. a Preacher Stiff. 6. in a famous Church had a mind to draw custom to it, and finding it necessary to tell them what excellent Relicks they had, he produces a box and shews it to the people, and tells them they were to understand that within that box was kept a piece of the bread which Christ himself did eat; and if you do not believe this, behold a very learned Person among you, pointing to Guibert, will bear witness, if it were needful, to the Truth of what I say. Guibert saith, he blushed at the mans impudence, and had a good mind to have contradicted him, but he stood too much in awe of the Persons about him who were his abettors in so advantageous a lie to them. But he saith, neither Monks, nor Clergy men did abstain from this base way of bringing gain to their Churches, viz. by abominably cheating and abusing the People. I hardly think any of the frauds of the Heathen Priests in their Temples and Oracles at Delphi, Dodona and other places could exceed these.

Afterwards, he saith, that the Acts of several of their Saints were taken out of old cap. 3. Stiff. 1. Womens Tales and Songs; and some things were written of them which were not fit for Plowmen to hear. And when they make their
Saints

Sett. 2.

Saints to be of great Antiquity, yet they desire new Lives to be written of them. Which he confesses was a request often made to himself; but, saith he, I am apt to be deceived in the things I see, what truth then could I write of the things which no man ever saw? If I should yield to such a request both I that write or preach such things, and they who desire them ought to be branded with publick infamy. But supposing the Saints to be true, yet they make lies about their Relicks, so John Baptist's head is said to be in two several places, and what can be more ridiculous than to make the Baptist have two Heads? one or other must cheat and deceive the people. His own predecessor St. Godfridus had a mind to make a translation of the body of St. Firmin as the people were to believe; after all the search they could make, they found not one syllable of any intimation of such a Body as St. Firmin lying there. But the Bishop of the City caused an inscription to be made upon the leaden coffin. Firminus Martyr Ambianorum Episcopus. This, he said, he had from the mouth of the said Bishop and another. Were not these men fit to be made Saints of, who could so cunningly turn the body of any, though it may be the most wicked person, into the Relicks of a Saint or a Martyr, and so into an object of sacred veneration among the

the People? But to make the story of this Translation yet more pleasant, *Guibert* tells us, that about the same time the Monks of *St. Denys* made a solemn Translation of the same Body of *St. Firmin*; and *D'ackery* takes great pains to prove that the Monks had the true Body; and yet the *Author* of the Life of *St. Godefrid*, saith, that the people were invited by that Saint to prepare themselves for the translation at *Amiens* and to bring their gifts, and such a concourse of People came to it, that one would have thought all Europe had been there. Then the Bishop with the Priests went to the place where the Sacred Treasure lay, and exposed the holy Relicks with great trembling to the Veneration of the People. Are not these rare doings for Saints and holy Bishops, thus horribly against their own Consciences to abuse the people? After these *Guibert* relates how *Odo Bishop* of *Bayeux* brother to *William the first*, bought the body of a Countryman called *Exuperius* of a Sexton for 100. pound and made a solemn Translation of it for *St. Exuperius*: But, he saith, the instances of this kind are so numerous, that he had neither strength nor time to relate the things which were done in this manner by those who made gain their godliness. It was a common thing in those days to steal and sell Relicks (of which

Lucas D'achery
not in *Guibert* p. 567.

Nicol. vit. St. Godefridi l. 2. c. 26.

St. 3.

Capgrave

Hugo Me-
nard not. in
Concord.
Regul. c. 3.
p. 125.

Greg. Tu-
ron hist.
l. 9. c. 6.

Capgrave gives several examples) and to fight for them, as we find in *Colganus* ; and there was a sort of wandering Monks called *Circelliones* who made a trade of this ; *Greg. Turonensis* tells us of one *Desiderius* in the City of *Tours*, that pretended to work strange miracles, and that there were messengers passed between St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* and him ; to whom abundance of people flocked, carrying the Blind and Lame to him to be healed, and that he deceived the people by his art. Another, (who was afterwards found to have been a Bishops servant) went about cloathed in white, carrying a Cross, at which hung two vessels in which he said holy oyl was contained ; this man pretended to have come out of *Spain* and to have brought some Relicks of *Vincentius* and *Felix* ; he went to *Paris* and drew the people after him ; but the Ecclesiastical Officers causing him to be searched, instead of his Relicks found the teeth of Moles, the bones of mice, the claws of bears, and the roots of herbs, with which they supposed he made enchantments for the people ; and of such persons *Gregory* saith our Saviours words are to be understood, *that many false Prophets shall arise doing signs and wonders*. But of these Impostors more afterwards.

Afterwards *Guibert* vehemently disputes against

against those who pretended to the *Tooth of* Lib 3. c. 1.
our Saviour and the *milk of the Blessed Virgin*,
 and makes them *guilty of lying and forgery* : c. 3. s. 4.
 and *derides the miracles that were wrought*
by the Monks as vain, foolish, and uncertain, c. 5. s. 1, 3, 4.
 and concludes his Discourse with saying, *that*
to make gain with carrying about or shewing Sect. 3.
the pretended Relicks of Saints is a profane
thing.

Thus we see from the Authentick Testimo-
 ny of so considerable an Author in his time
 how little credit was to be given to the *lives*
of the Saints, or *their pretended Relicks and*
Miracles. Yet still this way of abusing the
 people hath been upheld and practised, and
 their most solemn offices of Religion corrupt-
 ed with shameful lies ; for the story of the
 seven sleepers, and the 11000. Virgins, of
 St. *Christopher* and others the most ridiculous
 Fables, were preserved in their *Breviaries*
 and *Lessons* of them read upon their days ;
 as may be yet seen in the *Salisbury Breviary*,
 which was most in request in *England*. And,
 which deserves to be taken notice of,
 while they would by no means suffer the sa-
 cred Bible to be in the hands of the Peo-
 ple, they were well enough contented that
 senseless Book of the *Golden Legend* should be
 published in *English* to be devoutly read by
 them. So much more did they think it their
 interest

interest to feed the people with lies and fables, than with the holy word of God; so much more advantageous was it for them to deceive than to save their souls. But, it may be, now they will pretend, *that things are otherwise with them, that the Golden Legend is out of request, that the Breviaries are Reformed, the Martyrologies corrected, the Acts of the Saints set forth pure and free from Fables.* This last I have already shewed to be very far from being true, and we need no more to shew how little credit they deserve than what the collections of *Surius, Ribadineira, Bollandus, Colganus* and such like, will afford us. Their *Breviaries* and *Martyrologies* I grant are in some things reformed, but there are many Fables still remaining in them, and some of the late Correctors of them instead of amending them have inserted Tales that were never in before: as *Lamoy* hath at large proved in several discourses. One pleasant passage, often mentioned by him, it may not be amiss here to insert, to shew the skill of the *Roman Correctors.* In the *Roman Martyrologie* on the twenty fourth of *January* in the Edition corrected by *Galesinius*, and approved by *Gregory 13.* with his *Bull* before it; the words were inserted, *Atque Antiochie Sanctæ Synoridis Martyris:* And *Baronius* in his learned *Anotations* upon this Place,

Joh. Lamoy d'sq.
disquis de
Magdal.
Massil.
p. 157.

Place, faith, *that St. Chrysostom speaks of her* Homil. 4. de Lazaro, *and St. Hierom of another of that name a woman famous for Nobility and Piety.* How can they ever want *Martyrs* in the Roman Church, that can turn *Words* into *Martyrs*! For this Martyr *Synoris* in those Authors is no more than the Greek word *Συνωρίς* which signifies a *Pair joyned together*, or a *Chariot drawn by a Pair*; and so *St. Chrysostom* there uses it of *Juventius* and *Maximus* calling them *ἑὸν ἄλλων μαρτύρων συνωρίδα*, and *St. Hierom* of *Juliana* and *Proba* calling them *sanctam Christi Synoridem*: This was *Baronius* his Noble Martyr *Synoris*; it was ill for her, that she happened to be first known in so unlucky a time, when some learned men (of *France* as I take it) sent *Baronius* notice of this new Martyr, who being ashamed of her, expunged her out of all Editions of the *Martyrologie* since *A.D. 1586.* notwithstanding the *Popes Bull* in approbation of that Edition: But if it had been her good fortune to have been heard off a little sooner, by this time we might have had an excellent *Legend* of her, distributed into several Lessons in the *Breviary*, and the *Office* of a *Martyr* to be performed for her; we might have heard many pretty stories of her Childhood, and of her very early devotion to the Blessed Virgin for the sake of her Sex;

Qq

how

how many strange Miracles she had wrought, and without doubt she had been at least the daughter of a Prince, and it may be the youngest daughter of *King Costus*. But so unhappy a thing it is to come into the world out of due time! for she appeared but for a little time, and then vanished quite out of sight. Whereas if she had come abroad some Ages before, who knows what a world of Good she might have done by this time, being solemnly invocated, and might have been thought as proper for all that go in *Coaches*, especially *with two Horses*, as *St. Antony* for *stollen Goods*, or *St. Apollonia* for the *Toothache*; or *St. Viarius* for the *Loyns*. This *St. Viarius* was another very pretty Saint, solemnly worshipped near *Ebora* for a *Bishop* and a *Martyr*, especially for *the Cure of the Loyns*, when, God knows, it was only the name of an *antient Roman Curator* of the High-ways, which they had met with in some inscription, as *Andreas Resendius* tells us. Who having the curiosity to search the Antiquities of the Church where this *High-way Saint* was worshipped, a grave Priest told him all the *Legend* of his *Martyrdom*, *Resendius* desired to see what Monuments of it they had, he presently produces a *Roman Inscription*, wherein were these words VIARUM CURANDARUM.

Now

Andreas
Resend. de
Martyr.
Eborens. Ep.
ad Barth.
Kebed.
p. 1007.
To. 2.
Rerum Hi-
spanic.

Now said the cunning old Priest VIARUM that is plain his name was *Viarius*, and CURANDARUM is as much as if he should have said, *Cura curarum*, and that belonging only to a Bishop, it was evident, this Martyr *Viarius* was a Bishop. *Resendius* kept his countenance, and complained he saith to the Bishop of this worshipping the Roman *Curator* for a Saint; but the people cursed him sufficiently for it, they having received much help from him. But, methinks they should have set out his life with all the circumstances of it, as well as have known for what disease he was proper to be invocated. And *Beatus Rhenanus* tells us, how such a thing might have been ingeniously done: for a certain Monk published the life of St. *Beatus* and called him *Suetonius*, and described many passages of his life; and said he had a companion called *Achates*. *Beatus Rhenanus* being more than ordinarily inquisitive after his name-sake, goes to the man, and asks him whence he had this information, supposing he had some good Authority for it; but upon enquiry he told him, that he called him *Suetonius*, because he heard he came out of Sweden, and he called his companion *Achates*, because that was the name of *Aeneas* his Fellow Traveller: and yet this admirable story *Rhenanus* saith, was not only printed, but

*Beat. Rhen.
r. r. German.
l. 3. p. 161.*

Dempster
Ecclef. Hist.
l. 2. n. 159.

painted in Churches too. And which adds something more of Grace to it, *Dempster* in his *Ecclesiastical History* derives the antient and Noble Family of the *Setons* in *Scotland* from this *St. Suetonius*.

Tostatus in
Levit. c. 9.
q. 14.

But what if after all these pretences to Miracles in the *Roman Church*, some of their own members that must know them, and were no way inconsiderable either for Authority, judgement or learning, should declare that they believe no such thing as the continuance of the Power of Miracles in the Church? Can any thing more invalidate the Testimony of those who assert these Miracles than this? There was hardly a greater man for learning and judgement in his time than *Tostatus Bishop* of *Avila* in *Spain*, and he purposely discusses this Question about the continuance of the Power of Miracles in several places. In his Commentaries upon *Leviticus*, he shews that God made use of the Power of Miracles in the beginning of an Institution, as of the *Aaronical Priesthood* by fire coming from Heaven to consume the Sacrifices; but when the Priesthood was already confirmed, there was no need of any more Miracles in the consecration of the following Priests: So, saith he, was it in the New Law, for in the beginning of it many Miracles were wrought, by and upon the New Con-

verts:

verts : but now there are no such things
 seen. The reason whereof, is, because at first
 the faith of the Gospel was not confirmed in
 the minds of believers as it is now : and few
 believed in Christ ; therefore to bring men to
 faith, this power of Miracles was necessary ;
 the matters of faith being incapable of de-
 monstration ; but now the Christian faith is
 sufficiently confirmed, there is no need at all
 of Miracles. The same he asserts more large-
 ly in his Commentaries on St. Matthew, and
 in one place puts this Question, *Why the Bi-*
shops and Preachers of the Church who suc-
ceed the Apostles do not work Miracles, as
the Apostles did, since Miracles are for the
confirmation of the Christian faith ? To
 which he answers, *That Christ doth not be-*
stow the gift of Miracles, but when it is ne-
cessary, or at least very useful ; but now the
gift of Miracles in these persons is neither
profitable nor useful ; because we have argu-
ments enough to perswade us to believe with-
out that ; and therefore he determines that
Miracles now would not be for the profit of
the Church, but only for curiosity ; and saith
that it is not meet that God should give this
power of Miracles, nor doth he. Nay, he
 puts the case of Heathens to be converted to
 the faith ; and to that he answers, *That it*
might be either through their demerits, or

Comment in
 Matth. c. 3.
 q. 12. in
 Matth. 10.
 q. 21.

of those who go to them, that God denies this power of Miracles to convert them: but withal, saith that the conversion of Infidels is not so necessary now as in the Apostles times, and therefore God doth not in this ordinarily bestow this gift on men, although he may do it in some extraordinary cases. What shall we say now to the Testimony of this learned Bishop? had he never heard of St. James of Compostella and the Miracles pretended to be wrought there? and could he believe them, and write these things? Had he never heard of St. Vincentius Ferrerius who lived in some part of the same time with him, and if he had believed the Miracles reported of him, he would neither have put the Question, nor answered it so as he did. After him I shall produce the Testimony of Fisher Bishop of Rochester in his Answer to Luther, who to prove the necessity of interpreting Scripture by the continued sense of the Church, and not by the bare Letter, offers to produce such words of Christ in which besides the matter of fact and the command there is a promise annexed; and yet, saith he, in our dayes no effect of this promise is seen: and then brings the words of Scripture wherein it is said, that Christ cured the blind and the lame, and cast out Devils; and he commanded his Disciples to do the same,

Rofferf. c.
Luther de
capiv. 10.
Babyl. c. 10.
Sic. 4.

same, and makes a promise to them that should believe in Christ. Mark 16. that many signs should follow them: and yet this promise, saith he, hath no effect now; for no man now casts out Devils, nor heals diseases, and yet no one questions but there are many that believe. But what then, was the promise of Christ of no effect? no, saith he, Christ intended it only for the first Ages of the Church; but when the Christian faith was dispersed over the world, there was no longer need of miracles. Can any Testimony be more plain or weighty in our case than this, it being from one who undoubtedly knew all the pretences to miracles that were then made? Erasmus expressly saith, that the gift of miracles (which was necessary to the first Ages of the Church for the conversion of Infidels, as speaking with strange Tongues, miraculous Cures, Propheying, and such like miracles) is now ceased. Stella, not only saith, that the power of miracles is ceased; but he saith that the receiving it would do more hurt than good; for men would say, that the Christian faith was not sufficiently confirmed before. Of all cases we might most reasonably suppose that God should, if ever, renew this gift in the conversion of Infidels; and yet Francisco à Victoria saith, that he heard of no miracles or signs that were wrought for the

Erasm. in
1. Ep. ad
Corinth.
13. 13.

Stella in
Luc. 11. 29.

Victoria
Relict. 5.
p. 200. : d

*Acoſta de
procuandâ
Indarum
Salute l. 2.
c. 9, 10.*

conversion of the Indians. Josephus Acoſta
at large debates this case, *why God doth not*
now give the power of miracles among thoſe
who preach to Infidels as he did of old? and
he offers at ſeveral reaſons for it, of which
this is the chief, *That miracles were neceſſary*
in the beginning of Chriſtian Religion, but not
now. And if the Church be defective in the
power of miracles where it is the moſt ne-
ceſſary, what reaſonable ground can there be
to think that God ſhould imploy his power
not for the ſatisfaction of Infidels, but of the
credulous and ſuperſtitious? As God never
works miracles to convince obſtinate Atheiſts,
ſo neither doth he to gratifie the curioſity of
old Women and Pilgrims; but if ever he does
it, it is to lay a ſufficient foundation for thoſe
to believe, who are otherwiſe deſtitute of
the means of faith. But if ſuch perſons who
are employed upon the work of converting
Infidels do want the Teſtimony of miracles,
I know no reaſon to believe that he employs
it for other ends. And if theſe perſons had
believed that the power of miracles had been
any where elſe in the Church, they would
have made that conſiderable objection to
themſelves, why God ſhould give it where
there was leſs need, and deny it where there
was greateſt?

But what then ſhall we ſay to the miracles
pre-

pretended to be wrought by Xaverius and others in the East-Indies? I say, that if they were sufficiently attested, we might be much more inclined to believe the Truth of those miracles, than of the *Lady of Loretto* or *St. James of Compostella*, or any of the rest which *E. W.* refers us to. For if it were at any time reasonable to expect a power of miracles, it would be for the conversion of Infidels, and *Xaverius* and his companions, going upon so generous a design, might be favoured in it by some extraordinary effects of Divine Power. But then in all reason the miracles would be such as were most accommodated to that design, as the speaking with the Tongues in which they were to preach the Christian Religion: but by the letters of *Xaverius* himself we find, that he was expressly put to it for want of this gift of Tongues, both on the *Coast of Commorin* and especially in *Japan*: for in one of his Letters *Epistol.* he laments his condition very much, because *Japan. 3.* the people being willing to learn, and he as *p. 30.* willing to instruct them, for want of the language they conversed with each other like statues; and when they asked him questions he could give them no answer; but by degrees he said, he learnt to prattle like a child among them. Can any one now imagine that God had bestowed the gift of miracles upon
Xaverius

Xaverius for propagating Christianity, and yet should deny him that, without which all other miracles would be to no purpose, if he could not deliver the doctrine those miracles were to confirm, so as to be understood by the people? But in truth, I do not find that *Xaverius* himself in any of his *Epistles*, did make any pretence to the power of miracles; after his death indeed, the *Jesuits* in those parts to increase the glory of their Society, and their Brethren in these parts as readily concurring to such a design, published some *miracles*, which they said were wrought by him. So *Melchior Nunezius* in his *Epistle* to *Ignatius Loyola*, where he gives an account of the death of *Francis Xaverius*, saith, *that many things were discovered since his death, that were not known while he was alive*: and is not this a very probable circumstance that he had a power of miracles? Would the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles have converted Infidels if they had not been known while they were living? And yet these miracles he reports are very few, and delivered on the single testimonies of no very considerable men: *the rest*, he saith, *for brevity's sake he omits*; which is not very probable, considering how long he insists upon the story of the *miraculous incorruption of his Body after his decease*. Which *Bellarmin* like-

Epist. Japon. p. 91.

likewise magnifies, viz. *That his Body being* Bellarmin. de notis Eccl. l. 4. c. 14.
cast into Lime was preserved fifteen months
entire and free from corruption. What will
 not these men make miracles of, when they
 have a mind to it? When *Maffei* saith, Maffei Hist. Indic. l. 8.
that the Relicks of St. Thomas at Meliapor,
were mixed with Lime and Sand, which no
 doubt were designed to preserve them from
 corruption. And *Paulus Zacchias* a learned Paul. Zacchias Quest. Medico. l. 4. tit. 1. q. 10. n. 24.
 Roman Physician hath declared, *that the in-*
corruption of bodies by Salt, Nitre, or Lime,
is so far from being a miracle, that it hath
nothing of wonder in it. And yet this must
 be cryed up as a strange miracle in *Xaverius* Kirchman. de funeribus Rom. l. 1. c. 8.
 his Body, which would have passed for a
 common accident in any one else, it being so
 well known to be an ordinary effect of na-
 ture; to preserve bodies a long time from
 corruption by the use of things which are of Korman. de miraculis Mortuorum p. 3. c. 6.
 so drying a nature as those are. But as to
 all these miracles, whose relation we have
 from the *Jesuits* in the *East Indies*, we are to
 consider what credit their testimony de-
 serves with us; for if they are men who
 think it lawful to lye for a good cause (as
 no doubt the honour of their Society is such
 with them) how can we with any tolerable
 discretion relye upon their words? And what
 will those men stick at, who have had the
 impudence to insert fabulous miracles and
 stories

Alegambe
Biblioth.
Societ. Jesu
 p. 188.

Historia
Christi Per-
fic. à Xa-
verio, Latine
Edita à
Lud. de
Din. p. 536

Eras.
Schol. in
Ep. Hier.
Baron. Ap-
parat. n. 39,
 44.
Cani Loc.
Th. olog.
 l. 11. c. 6.
Sixtus Se-
nens. Bibli-
oth. l. 2. in
Matth.

stories into the very history of the Gospel ? For which we are to understand that *Acabar Emperour* of the *Mogols*, having given liberty to the *Jesuits* to live in the City of *Agra*, desired of *Hierome Xavier* the chief of them, (a kinsman of the former *Francis Xavier*, and a man of such an *Apostolical Spirit*, saith *Alegambe*) an account of the life and miracles of Christ. The subtle *Jesuit* very well understanding their own doctrine about the obscurity and insufficiency of Scripture, durst not put into his hands the four *Evangelists*, but framed an excellent Gospel of his own A. D. 1602. which he declares at the end of it, to have taken out of the Holy Gospel, and the Books of the Prophets : and we may judge of his sincerity by these passages. In the beginning of it, he relates the story of the *Virgin Mary*, not as it is in the *Evangelists*, but as he had taken it out of a silly Book *de Nativitate S. Mariae* attributed to *St. Hierom*, but rejected not only by *Erasmus*, but by *Baronius*, *Cannus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and others ; and the true Author is supposed by some to be *Seleucus the Manichee* ; whether it were he or no, *Baronius* saith, he was so ignorant as not to avoid manifest lyes : however this new Evangelist thought him a fit Author for him to make a new Gospel out of, the better to please the

Great

Great Mogol. He tells him out of that Book that *Joachim* and *Anna* the Parents of the Blessed Virgin, being very Rich and Childless had made a vow to God, if they had a Son to devote him to his service; one time *Joachim* went up to the Temple to offer up his sacrifice there, and *Iffachar* the High Priest rejected him (a notorious lye, saith *Baronius*, for no such man as *Iffachar* could be High Priest then) upon which he and his Wife went away discontented; at last God sent an Angel to comfort *Joachim*, and told him he should have a daughter, and should call her name *Mary*, who should be filled with the Holy Ghost from her conception; and charged them to perform their vow about her education in the Temple; he is so punctual as to set down the very day of her conception and birth, and relates the occasion of keeping the Feast of her Nativity among Christians, viz. a revelation made to an *Eremite* that she was born the eighth of September, when the *Eremite* heard strange Melody in the Heavens upon that day; upon which *Innocent* the fourth appointed the Feast to be kept. What Gospel and Prophets had this Jesuit met with to take these excellent stories from? But it must be from one of the Prophets indeed, since *Innocent* the fourth lived 1250. years since the birth of Christ. *The Blessed Virgin*, as *Xavier's*

Gospel

Historia
Christi p. 17

Xaver. p. 22 *Gospel goes on, at three years old, upon Friday the twenty first of November was carryed up to the Temple, and there shut up in a Holy place to be educated (most of the modern Commentators on this new Gospel, tell us it was the Holy of Holies, which it seems was then turned into a Nunnery, and for eleven years together, they say, she never went out of that place; if any one should boldly ask what conveniencies she could have there? they readily answer, that she needed none, being fed by Angels all that time with spiritual food. So Canisius, Poza, and others in*

-Raynaud.
Diptych.
Mariae,
n. 10.

Bened. Go-
non Chroni-
con. Dipty.
p. 6.

Xaver. p. 25
p. 26, &c.

p. 30.

Theophilus Raynaudus; and Benedictus Gonnus adds, that Zachary Father to St. John Baptist saw the Angel that carried her meat to her, for which he quotes Pantaleon in Metaphrastes; (no doubt an excellent Author) but Xavier saith, that for the most part she had her food from Heaven. I omit her vow of Virginity, the manner of her Espousals with Joseph, and the reason of them, viz. to cheat the Devil; the blossoming of Josephs Rod; the particular description of the Virgin Marias countenance with great blewish eyes, and golden locks, &c. all which he sets off with as many circumstances, as if they had made a considerable part in our Gospels: but one of the greatest miracles of her beauty was, that a wicked man by looking upon her was converted.

ibid.

converted. It was great pity then she went no other abroad, that she might have reformed the world by her Countenance. Afterwards he describes the manner of the *Angels Salutation of the Blessed Virgin* so exactly, p. 34. that it plainly appears, he despised the rudeness of the Evangelists in their manner of expressing it. *The Blessed Virgin*, saith he, was then sitting in her Parlour musing upon that saying of Elaias, *A Virgin shall conceive, &c.* and she mightily desired to see that Virgin, and wished she might be her handmaid, while she was in these thoughts, an Angel comes in like a beautiful young man with great splendour, and falls upon his knees and fixed his eyes on the ground, and with great devotion said Ave Maria, &c. She was not surprized, saith he, at the sight of the Angel, for she had often conversed with Angels before, but at his humble posture, and the honour he gave to her. Who can now doubt the lawfulness of praying to the *Blessed Virgin*, when the Angel Gabriel said the Ave Maria upon his bended knees to her? After the Angel had delivered his message, she made him wait, saith Xavier, till Midnight, before she gave any answer; then, saith he, in the very point of Midnight, she fell upon her knees, and with her head downward, and eyes full of tears, and her arms
a cross,

- p. 41. *a cross, she said, Ecce ancilla Domini, &c.*
 Much in the same way he describes the manner of her delivery, only that her eyes were
- p. 62. then lifted up towards Heaven. I pass by the fabulous miracles he relates concerning
- p. 74. the birth of our Saviour, of which there is not one word in Scripture, or any good Historian: The story of the wise men with their
- p. 89. names *Melchior, Caspar and Balthasar*, of their Kingdoms, and how their Bodies came to be carried to *Cologne*, which was much for the *Great Mogols* edification to know; the miracle of the letter *Vau* blotted out by old *Si-*
- p. 94. *meon*; which he found in the word afterwards; the check the Angel gave him, and how thereby he came to owne the *Messias*, the care *Anna* had over the young Virgins in the Temple, and the manner of observing
- p. 98. her Feast with Wax Candles; the miracles wrought in *Ægypt* at Christs being there; the
- p. 101. miracle of the *Pool of Bethesda* being caused by the wood of the *Cross*, being hid there by King
- p. 198. *Solomon*, which floated in our Saviours time, and when they took it out for the crucifying Christ, then the *Pool* lost its vertue: and abundance of other interpolations and corruptions of the story of the Gospel; but by these few, we may guess what sincerity we are to expect from such men in the relating the miracles of their own order, who cannot keep

keep their hands off from forgery and imposture, in relating the story of the Gospel. And after the same manner *Xavier* hath published the *History of St. Peter*. But lest any should imagine that these Books were framed and set forth by some enemies to the *Jesuits*, to the disgrace of their Order, *Alegambe* confesses they were both written in the *Persian Language* by *Hierome Xavier*, and faithfully translated into *Latin* by *Lud. de Dieu*; some very few faults he takes notice of, but they are so slight, that they confirm his Authority in all the rest: Let now any impartial man judge whether such Persons deserve any faith in relating other miracles, that dare so horribly to adulterate and corrupt the very story of the Bible: but they little thought these abominable frauds, would ever have come to light in these parts, to make us truly understand what kind of Gospel it is which they propagated in the *Indies*; and how unlikely it is that God should give the attestation of miracles to such lewd forgeries. And thus much may suffice for comparing the credibility of the Testimony on which miracles are received in the *Roman Church*, with that upon which we believe the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. Enough one would think, not only to stop the mouth of *E. W.* for the future, but even of Impudence it self.

Of the
Impostures
and For-
geries of
Miracles in
the *Roman*
Church.

Glavri Ro-
dulphi Hist.
l. 4. c. 3.

§. II. 3. I now come to shew the notori-
ous frauds and impostures which have been
discovered in the *Roman* Church in this point
of miracles. It was an easie matter in an Age of
Credulity and Ignorance to set up for a power
of miracles ; for few men were inquisitive into
the nature and circumstances of things, and
those who understood, generally the best in
those times, were either Contrivers or Friends;
yet it so fell out, that some notorious im-
postures have been discovered, which have dif-
fered in nothing from those which have pas-
sed for true miracles among them, but only
in the fortune of being discovered. *Glaber*
Rodolphus in his History, tells a story of his
own knowledge of a certain Person that
went up and down pretending to do great
wonders ; after the great feats he had done
in *France*, he goes into the *Alps* ; and there
pretends to have found the Relicks of *Sr. Ju-*
stus the *Martyr*, the Countrey people flocked
in to him, and they who came whole and
sound were sorry they had no Disease or
Lameness to be cured. But certain it is,
saith the Historian, strange Cures were
wrought there ; the Bishops in whose Dio-
cesses these things were done, instead of
making strict enquiries, demanded money to
give licence to deceive the People. At
last,

last, one *Manfred* a Great man in those parts caused the Body which wrought these miracles to be taken away and placed in a Monastery of his own erecting, and this *Relick-Finder* grew into great request with him, promising to discover more precious Relicks than these, and he told him the names of the Martyrs, and manners of suffering very exactly. Some persons, among whom the Historian himself was one, asked him how he knew these things; he told them, that an Angel appeared to him in the night, and told him all the things he desired to know; and lifted him out of his bed, and after many discourses, they parted very lovingly. Although some of them suspected the imposture, yet the Bishops who consecrated the Church with great Pomp, and applause of the People, who were innumerable, solemnised the translation of these Relicks. And although afterwards the wiser sort found out the cheat, and that the Body was taken at a venture in the night out of a Grave, yet the work of miracles went on as well as if the Martyr had been there, and the People still continued in the belief of it. This the Historian saith, he purposefully inserted to discover the imposture of those pretended miracles.

Gulielmus Neubrigensis Guil. Neubrigens. de rebus Anglicis. l. 5. c. 20, 21, 22 gives an account of a seditious person in London in the time of *Richard the first* called *William*

William Longbeard, who stiled himself the *Saviour of the Poor*, and had gotten so great an interest among the People, that he had two and fifty thousand men at his command, at last he was seized on and executed; but after his death the people cryed him up for a *Martyr*, and a Priest got one of his Chains, and gave out that he cured one sick of a Fever by it; the people being encouraged by this, took away the very Gallows where he hung in the night, and all the earth about it where any of his blood was supposed to be spilt, and they digged so far as to make a Pitt with carrying away the earth for the Cure of Diseases. By these instances we see what a disposition the people were in, to be deluded under a pretence of Relicks and Miracles.

But it may be said, that *such impostors may be in any Religion, and this reflects no more dishonour on the Roman Church, than Simon Magus did upon the Apostles*: I proceed therefore to shew, that Persons who have been countenanced and encouraged in that Church have been found guilty of imposture. At the latter end of the twelfth Century appeared one *Fulco*, a man very famous for the great miracles wrought by him, and his extraordinary way of preaching. He was, saith *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, a plain Countrey Priest, very

*Jacob. de
Vitriaco
Hister. Oc-
cid. make. 6.*

very simple and illiterate, who had been a loose and dissolute man, but being now reformed, to the University of *Paris* he goes to get some Authorities and Moral Documents in his Note-books, which saith he, he furnished himself with, as so many smooth stones to destroy *Goliath*. Being thus far armed he pretends a Commission from Heaven to go abroad to preach in all places, and gave out that the *Blessed Virgin* appeared to him, and had fitted him for that work, and bad him go preach repentance in all places, and that she had bestowed the Gift of Healing upon him, as *Otto de Sancto Blasio* tells us. Upon this, *Otto de Sancto Blasio* append. ad *Ottor. Frising.* c. 47. *Jac. de Virr. c. 8.* he preaches at *Paris* to the great admiration of his hearers, who looked on him as a person inspired, saith *Jacob. de Vitriaco*, and as another *St. Paul*; which preaching was so effectual with many of the people, as to make them take off their Garments and Shoo's, and carrying Whips in their hands, to cast themselves at his feet to receive penance. After this way he went over all *France*, and a great part of the *Empire*, and came over into *England*, as our Historians tell us, and preached before *Richard the first*, by the same token he called him *Hypocrite*, to the great regret of some of our Historians; but it seems he staid not long here, but away he went for *France* again: *Hoveden* tells us that the Clergy of

Matth. Westminster. A.D. 1197. Knighton l. 2. p. 2412. apud 10. Scriptoris. Hoveden. Annal. p. post. p. 448.

Jac. de Vi-
triacco c. 8.

Lisieux in *Normandy* cast him into Prison; but he made a shift to get from thence quickly, and went to *Caen* where he was again imprisoned by the Governour of the Castle; and escaping thence, he cast off the the dust of his feet against them: But although the *King of England* had so mean an opinion of him, the people in *France* thought they could not sufficiently adore him. For *Jac. de Vi-triacco*, saith, that they thought themselves happy who could get any piece of his Garments, in so much that he was fain almost every day to put on a new habit: which one day the people tore so unreasonably, that he desired them that they would not tear his Garments which were not blessed, but he would bless the habit of one that stood by him, which he had no sooner done, but the people did tear it in a thousand pieces, and preserved them for Relicks: They pressed so much upon him, saith the same Grave Author, that he was forced to beat them off with a Staff in his hand; and although he wounded some with his blows, yet they were so far from being displeased at it, that they kissed the blood which came from them, as being sanctified by his strokes: (for his Hair Shirt and Penance made him very *Cholerick*). Never any man had greater reputation for miracles than this; for where ever he came, it was given out

out that he cured all Diseases ; as all the Historians that mention him agree ; but *Otto* gives the most particular account of them, which he said he had from one *Bertoldus de Osinberg*, who saw him ; when any dumb were brought unto him he opened their mouths, and breathed into them, and commanded them to speak ; which if they did not presently, he gave them a good blow on the cheeks, and then they spake. He made a very infirm Boy leap off his Horse and run before him with holding up his Staff, as one ready to strike him. But never was poor man so served as the rich Usurer was by him, (for we must know his great zeal was against Usury) he seeing *in the spirit*, saith *Bertoldus*, that this man was predestinated to life, took an occasion to dine with him ; and as soon as he was gone into his house, he asked what he had to Dinner ; the man told him he need not trouble himself about that, he would provide as well for him as the City would afford ; he was not satisfied with this, but would needs go into the Kitchen and have all set before him, which was no sooner done, but he (very spitefully, so near Dinner time) turns all into Frogs and Serpents ; upon which the poor Usurer fell upon his knees and begged pardon for all his faults. But *Fulco* told him, both he and all his provisi-

ons were unclean ; and there was no way for him to escape, but to give away all that he had ; which the Usurer in a little time after told him he had done ; but it seems he had forgotten a quantity of Wheat which was yet left. *Fulco* hearing of it, takes the Usurer with him, and goes to the place where it lay, and found it full of Toads and Serpents ; then he tells him, if he would be perfect, and certain of Gods mercy, he should go naked into that *Granary*, then he promised him eternal life ; which command he presently obeyed, and then *Fulco* shut up and sealed down the cover of it, and commanded all not to come near it till next morning ; then great multitudes flocked to see what was become of the man, and they found nothing but a mans bones whiter than Snow ; which he took out, and declared them to be holy Relicks, and caused them to be laid up accordingly. By this one miracle attested by one, who saith, he saw his miracles, we may judge of the man and his miracles. However, this man was thought a fit instrument to be employed by the Pope to preach up a *Croisade* (for their Holinesses have thought fit to make use of such false pretenders to Inspiration and Miracles, as the fittest men to manage their designs, as *Peter the Eremit* by *Urban the second*, and this man by *Innocent* the

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the third) For *Otto* saith expressly that he preached by the Popes Authority : and the *Chronicon Andrense* lately published by *D'achery*, affirms the same : *Raynaldus* mentions the Letters which were sent him from *Innocent the third* ; and *Jacobus de Vitriaco* saith, that at last, he carryed the Cross upon his shoulders , and perswaded Princes and others to an Expedition to the *Holy Land* ; and by this means he heaped up abundance of wealth together ; and from that time, saith the same Author, his Authority and Reputation began to decline, and not long after he dyed of a Fever at *Neulli* in his own Parish Church, where he began his work. *Otto* hath no mind at all to speak of his end, but only saith, that men cannot tell what became of him, after the stories of his miracles, nor what end he made ; at which, he saith, the wiser men were exceedingly scandalized ; but he thinks he might be honestly defended. But *Rigordus* who lived in the same time with him, intimates his mind sufficiently about him, when after mentioning his miracles and preaching, he saith, *but if a man desires to know with what intention a man preaches, he must look to his end, because the end doth most clearly discover the intention of the heart.* By which it is easie to understand what kind of person he thought this

*D'acheryi
Spicileg.
Tom. 9.
p. 520.
Raynald. ad
A.D. 1198.
n. 38.*

*Rigord. de
Gestis Phi-
lippi A. D.
1198.*

Fulco

Jaz. de Vi-
triac. c. 8.
Hist. Occid.

Rob. Antis-
siod. Chron.
ad A. D.
1198.

Jaz. de Vi-
triac. c. 10.

Fulco to be. One of the greatest companions of this *Fulco*, was one *Petrus de Rusciaco* or *de Rusciâ*, who had likewise gained a great reputation for preaching poverty till he made himself excessively rich, and by that means, saith *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, he not only made his own doctrine contemptible, but brought a great scandal upon all the Disciples of *Fulco*. And *Robertus Antissiodorensis* an Author of that time, acknowledges that the devotion of the people occasioned by these Preachers speedily declined, and many that seemed to be reformed of their vices, returned to the practice of them. But *Jacobus de Vitriaco* adds afterwards, that many false Prophets and deceivers went abroad under the same pretence of extraordinary preaching; and which is more, that they were sent by the Bishops of several Churches to get money from the people for the repair of their Churches; and *Antissiodorensis* expressly saith, that *Fulco* went abroad to preach in his itinerant manner by the Inspiration of God, and the Licence of his Bishop.

Within less than forty years after this *Fulco*, appeared another famous Imposter pretending to work great miracles called *Johannes de Vincentia*, or *Vicença* in *Italy*, of the *Dominican Order*, say the most Historians, although *Vignier* makes him a *Cordelier*. This man

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was imployed by Pope *Gregory* the 9th in the time of his Troubles with *Frederick the second* to the City of *Bononia*, and prevailed so much upon them, saith *Sigontus*, by the reputation of his Learning and Sanctity, that in a little time he had gotten the whole power of the City in his hands. But that which chiefly gained him so great authority, was the opinion of his great miracles; for *Guido Bonatus*, who lived in that time, and saith he saw him, affirms that he had made the People believe *he had Revelations from God, and that by his command the dead were raised*: *Spondanus* out of *Thomas Cantipratensis* mentions seven, *Vignier* eighteen that had been raised by him from the dead, and adds, that his companions gave out, that he cured all Diseases, cast out Devils, and did many other miracles: but after a while, he saith, his imposture was discovered, but not before he had gotten twenty thousand Marks of Silver to his Convent: and *Guido Bonatus* saith of himself, that he was thought an Heretick for suspecting his imposture from the beginning. *Matthew Paris* saith of him, that he lost all his esteem through his pride and bad company. *Spondanus* knows not what to say to this judgement of *Matthew Paris*, finding him on one side so highly commended by Pope *Gregory the ninth* in his Letters to him,

Sigon. de Regno Ita. lib. 1. 17.

Fulgos. l. 1. tit. de Relig. cultu c. 1.

Spondan. Annal. Eccl. A.D. 1233. n. 10. Vignier Histor. de P. Eglise A.D. 1264.

Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. A.D. 1238.

him, and on the other such evident Testimonies, that in a little time he lost all the Authority he had in *Bononia*. But it is plain by the Letters of Pope *Gregory* extant in *Raynaldus*, that he looked on him as one inspired, and that had a gift of miracles; for he solemnly gives thanks to *Jesus Christ* for the great miracles wrought by him, which he parallels with those wrought by *Moses* in the presence of *Pharaoh* for the redemption of the People of *Israel*; and it is as evident, that some of the learnedst men in the *Roman Church* look on him as a meer impostor. For the famous Jesuit who writ the *Diatriba* against the *Dominicans* under the name of *Petrus de Valle-clausa*, reckons up this man among the notorious cheats of that Order: and he who writ in vindication of the Order hath very little to say for him, but only that the Pope had a better opinion of him: which it seems the Jesuit who knew the Popes correspondence with him well enough, did not think sufficient to excuse him from imposture. And yet after all this, *Bzovius* for the honour of his Order, attributes to him wonderful sanctity and miracles; and makes him to have cured abundance of Diseases with the sign of the Cross, to have raised up ten men from the dead: adding, that once when he was praying, there appeared a Cross in his forehead,

Oderic.
Raynald.
A.D. 1233.
n. 35337, 38.

Petri de
Valle-clausa
diatrib.
advers. cy-
riacos sect.
II.
Job. Casalas
Candor
Lilii Vindi-
catus p. 431.

Bzov. Au-
nales A. D.
1232. n. 2.

forehead, another time over his head; and that a bright Star was seen over him, and an Angel whispering in his ear. Judge now Reader, what credit these Reporters of miracles in the *Roman* Church do deserve from us: when such Persons who are by their own order cryed up for the workers of miracles, are by others of their own Church condemned for meer impostors.

But one of the most notorious impostures which ever came to light, was that of the *Dominicans* at *Bern*; the substance of which, I shall give from the Authentick relation it self as it was published *A. D.* 1509. very soon after the thing was done. It seems the Controversie about the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin had caused great heats in *Germany*, and all sorts did favour the Defenders of it; which extreamly discontented the *Dominicans*, who found that the *Franciscans* gained ground of them chiefly upon the Authority of some Revelations and miracles. The *Dominicans* therefore considered how they might vye with their Adversaries in these things, and resolved to have Revelations from the Blessed Virgin against the immaculate conception, and to have as good Marks of Christs wounds in their Order as *St. Francis* had; but such a design required a good Theatre to act it on, where it might

*De 4. Hæ-
resiarum
Ordinis
Prædicato-
rum, &c.
apud Swit-
ces in Ci-
vitate Ber-
nensi com-
bustis A. D.
1509.*

might not be discovered, and yet be sufficiently known; at first they thought of *Francfort*, then of *Norimberg*, but at last they pitched upon *Bern*, as most convenient, by reason of the simplicity and ignorance of the People. Four Persons were employed as the chief Actors in it, although with the consent and knowledge of the Provincial; the first was *Johannes Vetter* the Prior of the *Convent*, the second *Stephanus Bolsbort* their Preacher, the third *Franciscus Ulschi* the *Sub-prior*, the fourth *Henricus Steinscher* the *Procurator* of the *Convent*. Not long after, an occasion happened for them to begin their design, a plain simple Taylor called *Johannes Jesfir* happened to desire to be admitted a *Lay-brother*, at first they scorned him, but finding he had money, they consented to his Admission; after they had tryed him they found him a fit Person to practise upon. Accordingly the *Sub-prior* in the night threw stones into his room, and made dreadful noises to affright him with the apprehension of Spirits disturbing him; the next day they gave him Wax Lights and holy Water and some sacred Relicks to arm him, so that he might have the courage to talk with the Spirit, and they informed him what he was to say to it. The next night the Spirit, *viz.* the *Sub-prior* comes again, and puts the poor Taylor into a miserable

rable fright, so that he durst not answer as he
 was instructed; then the Spirit comes and
 seizes upon his Throat, as though he were
 going to choak him, at which he cryed out
 and desired to know how he might help him;
 for he was told it was the Soul of one in
 Purgatory that came for relief; then the Spi-
 rit told him he must discipline himself for
 eight dayes till the blood came, and cause
 eight Masses to be said for him: and to say
 himself fifty *Pater Nosters*, and as many *Ave*
Maria's for him, and at every one to kiss the
 ground in remembrance of *Judas* his kils to
 Christ, and then he should be delivered: all
 this he promised to discover to his Superiors;
 the Spirit bid him not be affrighted, for he
 was to come again six dayes after, and to
 bring others with him: Immediately these
 things were publickly performed, and mighty
 flocking of the people there was upon the
 noise of it, and the *Dominicans* were cryed
 up to the great disgrace of the *Franciscans*.
 Against the next time, (when *Stephen* whom
 they appointed his *Confessor*, had found him,
 not mistrusting in the least any trick in it)
 they told him they would certainly try whe-
 ther he was a good or evil Spirit, by two
 pieces of the *Blessed Sacrament* which they
 would have ready against the time the Spirit
 was to appear again. The Spirit comes at
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the time appointed with two more: but the honest Taylor having now gotten heart by the presence of the Host, adjures the Spirit to answer him, and to tell him his business. Then the Spirit revealed to him, that the other two were his Tormentors which immediately vanished away; that he had been in Purgatory one hundred and sixty years, that the *Dominican* Order was the best in the world, that some were in Purgatory for contradicting St. *Thomas* his opinion about the maculate conception; that the City of *Bern* should be destroyed, unless the *Franciscans* were expelled out of it, that *Scotus* was in Purgatory for asserting the immaculate conception, with many other particulars concerning himself which they had learnt from him in confession. After this the Spirit appeared in the Form of St. *Barbara*, and told him the other Spirit would now return no more; but that the *Blessed Virgin* would appear suddenly to him; which accordingly happened, and then revealed to him that the Pope would shortly determine against the immaculate conception, and in favour to him told him, that she gave him some of the Swadling Clouts *Jesus* was wrapt in, and a Vial full of her Sons Blood (such another I suppose as that at St. *Maximins* in *France*) with several other particulars too large to be mentioned.

oned. The most remarkable thing after this was, the next appearance of the *Blessed Virgin*, who expressed a great kindness to him, and a favour she would confer upon him in token of her maculate conception: then she desired him to put out his hand, at first he was unwilling, but durst not refuse, then the Spirit drove a great Nail into his hand, and made a wound in it, and bad him keep it open with *aqua fortis* and other corrosives, the next night she brings him Clouts to lay to it, such as *St. Francis* had, but fearing he should not hold out with the other four wounds, a Water was given him which deprived him of all sense, and then were the rest made, which when he came to himself he wondred at, and was ready to believe indeed that they came from Heaven; and wondred at himself how like *St. Francis* he was: Then they taught him to imitate Christs sufferings in his carriages, by stretching out his arms and hanging down his head in publick: which drew a strange concourse of people to see him, and when they gave him the Water, then the *Prior* told them, that he expired with devotion: after this, they perswaded him to great mortification and abstinence, that it might be thought he had deserved these revelations and wounds by his great merits. At last the poor man discovered his Confessors voice in

the habit of the *Blessed Virgin*, and cryed out he was cheated; then another came with the Host all bloody in his hands, as they had coloured it, and assured him he was the *Blessed Virgin* whom he doubted of before: but his suspicions still increased by their endeavours to take them away. Then he resolves to leave the Convent, which they perceiving, at last drew him to consent to the carrying on the design: which when he had done, they began to shew new tricks to the people, making the Image of the *Blessed Virgin* to weep, by the help of one *Lazarus* a Painter, and *Jeszer* to embrace it so fast in a posture of devotion, that he could not be stirred from it, till the bloody *Eucharist* was brought. But *Jeszer* was at length tired out, with the severities they used towards him, and afraid of being poysoned to prevent the discovery, and so escaped out of the Convent, and then declared all this Imposture to the Magistrates, upon which they were all seized upon, and after many delays used in the prosecution of them at the Court of *Rome*, they were at last burned, and their ashes cast into the River, lest they should be preserved for Relicks; as the Author of the Relation confesses they were accounted Martyrs by some and thought to be very unjustly condemned and executed. And no doubt, the violent

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prosecution of them was due to their inveterate enemies the *Franciscans*; otherwise they might have escaped as other impostors had done before them. But the pretending to the wounds of St. *Francis* was an unpardonable fault with them; and to be expiated with nothing less than death.

This story, is not only thus related in this Book published on purpose (which I have by me) but the truth of it is confessed by *Tribemius*, by *Peter Martyr Anglericus*, by *Trithem.*
Raselinus, by *Savini*, by *Del Rio*, by *Sponheim.*
nan, and by *Petrus à Valle-clausa*, all of them *A.D. 1509.*
far enough from being suspected of any en- *Petr. Mart.*
mity to the *Roman Church*. *Bloxius* *Ep. 341,*
thought it the best way to take no notice at *402.*
all of it, and so did *Genebrard*, *Gaultier*, *Basel. addit.*
considering what a dishonour it reflects on *ad Naucle.*
them, by the occasion it gives to suspect other *Sav. Com-*
frauds and impostures which have been ma- *ment. 7. r. 100.*
naged by better hands. But the late *Dami-*
anic Apologist *Jab. Casalas* would needs have *159.*
it all to be a meer contrivance of *Reuchlin* *Del Rio dis-*
out of his hatred to the *Monks*; which is so *quisit. Ma-*
ridiculous and absurd an evasion, that it ap- *gic. l. 4. c. 1.*
pears by it he had never seen the Authentick *9. 3. sect. 4.*
Relation of it. But he tells us, that *Anton-*
io Senensis in his *Bibliotheca Ordinis Predi-*
catorum justifies the men that suffered, saying *Spondan.*
that they suffered innocently, being oppressed *Ann. A. D.*
1508. n. 5.
Petrus à
Valle-clau-
sa *sect. 99.*
Gualter. Lib.
Indicis.
p. 421.

Trithem.
Chronicon
Sponheim.
A.D. 1509.
Petr. Mart.
Ep. 341,
402.
Bafil. addit.
ad Naucler.
Suri. Com-
ment. 7. r. p. m.
gft.
Del Rio dij-
quisit. Ma-
gic. l. 4. c. 1.
q. 3. fess. 4.
Spondan.
Ann. A. D.
1508. n. 5.
Petrus à
Vall-clau-
la fess. 99.
Gualter. Lib.
Vindicat.
p. 421.

by their enemies. So impossible is it for the greatest frauds and impostures, as to Revelations and Miracles, to want Friends in the *Roman Church*.

But we must not think this sort of impostures was confined only to the *Dominican Order*, for the *Franciscans* at *Orleans* were found out in the counterfeiting a Mute Spirit, representing the soul of a woman deceased that made signs she was damned for being a *Lutheran*, which was found to be nothing else but a Novice of their Order appointed by them to act that part: but after full discovery of the matter of fact they were preserved from punishment for the reputation of their Order, in a time when the design was to persecute the *Lutherans*. This story I confess is related by *Slidan*, but I do not find it contradicted by any of their own Authors.

Slidan.
Comment.
l. 9. A.
1534.

Ribadineira
de vit. Ignatii
l. 5.
c. 10.
Del-Rio
disquis.
Mag. l. 2.
q. 18, 25.
Benzo Hist.
Novi orbis
l. 3. c. 16.

Of the same Seraphical Order, and not long after that time, appeared in *Spain* a notorious *Impostor* called *Magdalena de la Cruz*, and confessed to be such by *Ribadineira*, *Del-Rio*, *Benzo* and others: She was Abbess of the *Franciscan Nuns* in *Cordoba*, and these miracles are reported of her, that being invoked in a storm at Sea, she appeared to the Mariners, and the storm ceased, that she was frequently lifted up in Trances into the Air, that once being so lifted up, she received

received

received the Host, which came out of the hands of the Priest through the Air and entered into her mouth, that when she was in the Garden, and the Sacrament by chance passed by in the Street, the Wall of the Garden opened that she might worship the Host, that for many dayes she lived only upon the Blessed Sacrament. Her reputation by means of these Miracles was so great, that the great Ladies of *Spain* being at the point of Child-birth sent to her their Child-bed-linnen to be blessed by her. Nay, the Empress her self, sent hers from *Valladolid* to *Corduba*; and the Emperour undertook no great expedition without consulting her; and desiring her prayers; and yet after all these things the *Dominican* Inquisitors being jealous of the growing reputation, by her means, of the *Franciscan* Order, found a pretence to seize upon her, and upon examination condemned her for a notorious impostor.

Such another was *Maria de la Visitacion*, Priorefs of *la Annuntiada* in *Lisbon* (of whom I have spoken elsewhere on another occasion) but she was of the *Dominican Order*, (for these two Orders of *Mendicants* still did strive to out-match each other in these pretended Saints and Miracles, and by their mutual jealousies and animosities these impostures came to be discovered, without

which they had passed among the people as current as those of the Founders of the two Orders). About her a Book was published in French by *Stephen de Lusignan a Dominican Frier*, printed at *Paris* by *John Bessant* A.D. 1586. with this Title, *The great miracles and most holy wounds which this present year 1586. have happened to the right reverend Mother, now Prioress of the Monastery de la Annuntiada in Lisbon, of the Order of Preaching Friers, approved by the reverend Father Frier Lewis of Granada, and other persons worthy of credit;* in his dedication to the Queen of France he saith, that he had published the greatest miracles that ever Almighty God in our times hath wrought in the person of a most noble, most vertuous, and most religious Virgin, most devoted to the Holy Sacrament, and *St. Thomas of Aquine*: by whose merits and intercessions she hath deserved to have visibly for her Husband Jesus Christ crucified, his five most holy Wounds, by means whereof the Divine Majesty doth continually divers miracles. In the Letter of the Provincial *F. Antonio de la Cerda* sent to *Rome* to be shewed to the Pope, and afterwards printed by order, are these passages concerning her. *Mother Mary de la Visitacion* at eleven years of Age entered into the Monastery de la Annuntiada, and

at sixteen years made profession. In which time our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to this Religious, to recompence her merits, and took her to his Spouse, saying to her the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, *I have loved thee with an everlasting love, &c.* And from that time forward, he still appeared to her, granting her many particular favours, speaking and conversing familiarly with her, as one Friend doth with another, as God talked and discoursed with *Moses*; and oft times he appeared to her accompanied with Saints of both Sexes, as with *Mary Magdalene*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Thomas of Aquine*, *St. Katherine of Siena*, and sometimes alone, and was very familiar with her, helping her to say the Canonical Hours, and at the end of every Psalm she would say, *Gloria Patri, & tibi, & spiritui Sancto*: he tells strange stories, of her Raptures and Extasies, of her miraculous Cures of Diseases, and how the Host came of its own accord to her mouth out of the place where it was kept: of her miraculous wounds in imitation of *St. Francis*, made by Christ himself with beams of fire issuing from him in her side, hands and feet, which opened on *Frydayes*; and how she was often seen, with a glory about her, lifted up into the Air. To these *Lewis* of *Granada* adds, that for seven years every

Thursday, at the *Ave Mary* hour she felt in her head all the pains of the Crown of Thorns, and she had some marks of those thorns in her head, and the pains endured till *Friday* the same hour. Many more particular miracles the Provincial relates of her; as the curing of a Cancer, by applying one of the Clouts to it which was taken from the wound in her side; and that instruments were made of the truth of this by a publick Notary: and of other Diseases, by pieces of the Cross given by her; from which *Lussignan* among other conclusions draws this, that miracles have ever continued in the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church. Such kind of miracles I grant have, but I think not much to the credit of it. *Sixtus* 5. was over-joyed at the News of these glorious miracles, as he expressed in his Letter to that purpose to Cardinal *Albertus* of *Austria*, dated at *Rome*, *Septemb.* 10. 1584. subscribed *Antonio Prucha Badulini*. And so great was her reputation in *Spain*, that she was chosen to bless the Standard Royal in the *Spanish Armada* 1588. which was performed with a mighty solemnity. After all which, in the beginning of 1589. she was condemned for an Impostor, and a Book published shewing the manner how she deceived the people in this pretence of miracles.

Ribadineira mentions such another impostor, viz. a Nun at *Bononia*, which imitated the pains of our Saviour on the Cross, and faith, that she had the wounds in her hands and side, and the pains of the Crown of Thorns on her head, which dropt blood from them; but she had at last a very bad end; the observation of which impostures made, faith he, *Ignatius Loyola* in his old Age vehemently to suspect, those frequent Extasies, Visions and Revelations, which himself had pretended to as much as any in his younger dayes. And afterwards he excuseth *Ignatius Loyola* for not having his sanctity so attested with miracles as some expected; and faith, that miracles are not necessary in our times. This he writ *A. D. 1572.* but although he knew *Ignatius* as well then as ever he did afterwards, yet when the design of Canonizing *Ignatius* began to be managed by the Society, then *Ribadineira* changed his story, and in the lesser account of his life published afterwards, pretends to abundance of miracles that were wrought by him. By which we may easily guess of what credit those miracles are, which so intimate a Friend of *Ignatius* knew nothing of, till it was thought to be much for the honour of their Society, that he should be Canonized. And it is observable, that the miracles mentioned by *Ribadineira*

Ribadineir.
vit. *Ign.*
Loyola l. 3.
c. 10.

dinquir were such, only which are most lyable to fraud and imposture, viz. casting out of Devils in their way, of which there are so many notorious instances in the *Roman Church*.

Hafen Muller. Hist. Jesuitici Ordinis c. 8.

Hafenmullerus who had been himself a Jesuit, relates that his Brethren at *Rome* told him, that a Woman possessed with a Devil followed *Ignatius*, and cryed, *Thou only art able to deliver me*, then *Ignatius* turning about repeated this Verse of *Virgil*,

speluncam Dido, Dux & Trojanns eandem.

At which (for there is an unknown quality in these words for casting out Devils) the Devil threw the Woman down, and going out of her cryed, *O thou Son of Loyola, like a Lyon thou sendest me to Hell, but I beseech thee send me any where else*; then *Ignatius* taking pity on the poor Devil, bid him go whither he would, so he possessed no body after: at which the Woman was delivered: and as the Jesuit *Turrian* said, she was a devout servant of *Ignatius* all her dayes. Another time, a servant of Cardinal *Farnese* was possessed with a fullen Devil, that was resolved not to be cast out, but only by *Ignatius*; he was then called by the People, and he told them, *he knew that Devil well enough*,

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he ~~thinks~~ to laugh at me and you too, but he shall be deceived. Therefore he gives a Brother of his Order one of the Beads of his Rosary, which was consecrated by *Pius the fifth*, and bid him come behind the possessed person (was that fair dealing to come behind the Devil ?) and to touch him, and say softly, *I adjure thee in the name of the Virgin Mary, and by command of my Father Loyola, and by the virtne of this blessed Bead to be gone.* Immediately the Devil cryed out, that *Loyola* tormented him ; but no persons saw him thereabouts : the Devil then explained himself saying, that his Bead was of more force than all their Exorcisms, and so left him.

The same Author tells us of his own knowledge, that at *Landspurg* in *Germany*, there was a Carter that went to his Parish Priest and told him, that the Devil did often drive him to his doors, but would not go in himself, nor let him go in ; not long after, this fellow was taken and condemned for Thievery, but he pretended he was possessed with a Devil ; the *Jesuits* hearing of it, came to him, and made use of all their Exorcisms, but to no purpose. At last the Rector of the Colledge remembering *Ignatius* his cunning way of coming behind the Devil, follows his method, and with an *Agnus Dei* commands the Devil
in

in the name of the *Virgin Mary* to be gone, but the obstinate Devil told him plainly he would not be gone, unless the man were saved from hanging. Forthwith, the *Jesuits* got his Pardon, and the Devil was presently gone, and the man went away and laughed in his sleeve, and told others afterwards, he counterfeited being possessed, only to escape hanging. But however the *Jesuits* boasted of this as a great miracle, and commended the use of *Agnus Dei's* very highly for this, and sold abundance of them (as Mountebanks do their Medicines) to the People, that were willing to be cheated. And one of the Fathers of the Society called *Lutz* made a Sermon to the People on the occasion of this miracle, in commendation of *Agnus Dei's*. Many other such stories he relates of the *Jesuits* miracles.

But we are not to imagine, that these subtle *Jesuits* only cast out Devils thus in other Countreys, for we have sufficient evidence of this Faculty of theirs here at home: For which we are to understand, that in the years 1585. and 1586. the *Jesuits* in *England* finding it necessary to animate their party towards a design then in hand, thought nothing would tend so much to it, as pretending to some great miracles. And nothing being more easie to be managed for the deceiving the

the People, than the casting out of Devils, where they never were, this they resolve upon. To this end they gave out, that the places where they intended to act this Scene were mightily haunted with Spirits, then they made choice of fit Persons to shew their tricks upon, which were hypochondriacal and distempered men, and some hysterical and fearful Women, who had all of them their dependance on such as were fast friends to the design: twelve Exorcists were employed to act their parts in this Scene under *Weston* or *Edmonds* the *Jesuit*, who was the chief Contriver and Manager of it. It happened that three of the Maid servants had been Protestants; these they told that the Protestants are possessed with Devils, and that no good could be done to them till their Baptism was set right. Then to work they go with them, as to their Baptism, with their Latin Charms, their Salt, Spittle, Oyl, &c. and gave them new names. This being done, they took all occasions to tell them strange stories of Exorcisms in forrain Countreys, the manner of the fits of possessed persons, and the words they spake, and the sights they saw, how they roared at the approach of any Sacred Relicks, how they could not abide the sight of the Sacrament, or the Priests, how they would greatly commend Hereticks, and

complain

complain that they were burnt if the Priests did but touch them. By this they very well understood their parts, and they were soon put upon shewing their skill in acting them; for at the first Mass that ever one of the Maids saw, she was put into the *Holy Chair*, and they bound her with Towels, then one of the Priests read in his *Book of Exorcising*, but finding no alteration in her, but only from her fear, they made her drink about a Pint of Sack & Saller Oyl being hallowed and mingled with Rue and some kind of Spices, which they called the *Holy Potion*. The Maid loathed the taste of it, which they told her came from the Devil, who hated nothing more than that Holy Drink, but she was forced by degrees to drink it up. Then she grew very sick and giddy, and fell into a cold sweat, which made her begin to believe her self possessed. After this they burned Brimstone with other things, and made her hold down her face over the smoke of it: which they did, till they made her look black in the face. By this horrible usage, the Wench fell first into a rage, and spake she knew not what, then it intoxicated and benumbed her senses, and at last she fell into a swoond: and when she came to her self, told them they had almost killed her; and some of them after this usage (which was common to all whom they would

would have believed to be possessed) were resolved rather to make away themselves, than endure it again. They had invented pretty names for the Devils which possessed them, *Frateretto, Fliberdigibbet, Hoberdiance, Tocobatto, Kellico, Porterichio, Motubizanto, Maho, Modu, &c.* When ever they cryed out with pain and ill usage, they still said, it was the Devil in them, so that at last they were forced to comply with them, and to say just as they would have them for their own ease. Then the work went on well, and the Devil commended the Queen and the Protestants, but declared a great hatred of Holy Water and Relicks, especially of *Campians* Thumb and *Brians* Bones, when they applyed them to them. All the dreams they had in the night passed for Visions; and as often as the Exorcists pleased, what ever they said or did was not by themselves, but by the Devils in them. But at last, when some of their own party disliked their doings, and they were in great fears of having their horrible imposture discovered, they soon dispossessed all the Devils out of them. Then their care was to prevent discovery by these persons, whom they disposed of in several places, and fed with money and promises, and kept from their Friends, and sometimes threatening them, that if they confessed any thing

thing, the Devil would possess them worse than before: and withal told them, that without an Oath they might say any thing to excuse themselves; but *Harrington* a Priest, that had taken to himself one of the Wenches afterwards, under pretence of marrying her; told *Friswood Williams* which was her right name, that if she were examined upon Oath, the Church did dispence with her, so as she might answer what she thought good notwithstanding; because an Oath did not bind her to confess any thing that might tend to the dishonour of their Priesthood, or of the Catholick Church.

Before this imposture was discovered, it did the Priests very great service, for *Anthony Tyrrell* one of the Priests in his examination confessed, that in the compass of half a year, they had gained five hundred persons to their Church; and some said three or four thousand. And the Priests had written several Books concerning the miracles wrought by them, full of most notorious forgeries, as appeared by the particular examination of the Persons pretended to be dispossessed by them. *Tyrell* said that *Weston* the Provincial of the *Jesuits* had written a Quire of Paper of the *Visions* of *Mainey* one of the persons out of whom he said he had cast out Devils; and another Book to prove the continuance

tinuance of this power in their Church; and to shew the vertue of holy Relicks especially of their late Tyburn Saints, *Campion, Sherwin, Brian and Coltam*. This business making so much noise put the Persons in Authority upon enquiring more strictly into it; and having at last seized upon some of the Persons concerned in it, in their several examinations upon oath they confessed the whole cheat, as I have delivered it from them. Their examinations were entred upon Record in the *Court of High-commission*, and afterwards published *A. D. 1604.* with a particular declaration of the whole imposture. In which any person may satisfie himself of the Truth of what I have reported, and abundance of circumstances which I have omitted. *Tyrell* the Priest upon his oath *June 15. 1602.* declared in his confession written with his own hand, that having perused the examinations of *Sara Williams* and *Friswood* her sister, of *Anne Smith* and of *Richard Mainey*, he was fully perswaded that they have deposed the truth in such points whereof they were examined belonging to their pretended possession or dispossession. The effect whereof, saith he, is, *that they were drawn by our cunning carriage of matters, to seem, as though they had been possessed, when as in truth they were not, neither were any of the Priests ignorant in my Conscience of their dissimulation,*

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on,

no, nor the parties themselves, (as now it appeareth) of our dissembled proceeding with them. And afterwards adds a very material thing, viz. For although both my self, (and so I think of the rest) did know that all was but counterfeit, yet for as much as we perceived that thereby great credit did grow to the Catholick cause, and great discredit to the Protestants, we held it lawful to do as we did. For the general conceit, saith he, among all the Priests of that Order is, that they may deny any thing, which being confessed doth turn to the dishonour of the Catholick Church of Rome: and concludes his confession with saying, that they do not account it evil, (as I verily think) to calumniate the Protestants by any device whatsoever, that may carry any probability with it, nor make any Conscience at all to tell and publish any untruths, which they think, being believed, may advance and promote such points and matters as they take upon them to defend for the honour of the Church of Rome and dignity of their Priesthood. Judge now, Reader, whether such persons do not deserve the highest credit in all their stories of Miracles, who think it lawful both to cheat and lie for the sake of their Church.

Not twenty years after the discovery of this imposture we find them at the same work again, when they writ the faithful narration
of

of the proceedings of the Catholick Gentlemen with the Boy of Billon; with this sentence at the beginning and end of it. *Non nobis Domine, non nobis; sed Nomini tuo da Gloriam,* Whereas the history of this imposture is so particularly laid open by the confession of the Boy himself, that it would make any others (but such as have the impudence to compare their frauds and impostures with the miracles of Christ and his Apostles) be ashamed ever to mention or own it.

Such another imposture *Thuanus* at large Thuan. Hist. l. 123. relates concerning *Martha Brosfier, A.D. 1599.* which gave great disturbance in *France*, happening so soon after the edict of *Nants*. One *James Brosfier* being weary of his poor employment at home, wanders from place to place with his three Daughters, and this *Martha* pretended to be possessed with an evil Spirit, and although the cheat was discovered in other places, yet at *Paris* they hoped to meet with some who would be ready to make use of such a counterfeit possession for their own ends; accordingly there the *Capuchins* presently lay hold upon her, and perswade the people she was really possessed; the *Arch-Bishop* of *Paris* disliking the *Capuchins* proceedings appointed some of the ablest Physicians in *Paris* to watch and examine her, who presently suspected the imposture, but desired further

time and advice. In the mean while *Fr. Seraphin* very solemnly falls to his *Exorcisms*, and she acted her part so artificially with writhing her body, rolling her eyes, and trembling of all her joynts as caused great astonishment in the Spectators; but at these words *Homo factus est*, she moved her whole body in so strange a manner from the Altar to the doors of the Chappel, that *Fr. Seraphin* cried out; *if there be any Infidel yet among you let him come and try his strength with this Spirit.* At which *Marescot* the *Physitian* said he would do it; then the cunning Gypsie cried that the Spirit had left her; wherein she was seconded by the Exorcist. While the *Physitians* were by, she lay very still, but she no sooner thought them gone, but she was at her old tricks. Then these *Physitians* were shut out and others brought in, who would be more favourable to the design; and by these a certificate was drawn up attested by themselves that she was really possessed; and an Abbot affirmed that when she was held by six men she got above their heads four foot into the air and there stood. When this account of her was published, *Marescot* confuted it answering all their arguments and giving an account of all the strange Symptoms which were seen in her. But so much were the people moved by this, that there was great danger of a tumult, the

King

King therefore gave order to the Parliament to prevent riotous meetings and to commit the pretended possessed person to the care of Physicians, who returned this answer that they could find nothing præternatural in her; then great clamours were made by the people and seditious Preachers that the priviledges of the Church were infringed, and that all this was done in favour of the *Hugonots*; to take away from the Catholick Church the glory of her Miracles: after severe animadversion on these factious Preachers and Friers; *Martha* was sent home with her Father and Sisters, and confined thither. But the *Bishop* of *Clermont* and his Brother carried her away to *Avignon*, and refused to obey the summons sent them by the Parliament; and the King sent to Cardinal *Offat* his Ambassador at *Rome* to acquaint the Pope with the whole matter, before they came thither: It happened that *Sirmondus* was then with Cardinal *Offat*, him he imployes to the General of the Order of *Jesuits* (who were suspected to be friends to the Brothers who had been bred up in their Society) that if they medled in this matter, it would be their greatest hindrance to their restitution in *France*, which they had then good hopes of. Upon this, the *Jesuits* forsook them, and they were forced to submit to the King; and so poor *Martha* was quite

T t 3 dispossessed.

dispossessed. Thus we see what intrigues and designs are carried on by such impostures in the Roman Church; that when such things escape examination they pass for Miracles, but when they are thoroughly searched into, they appear to be meer cheats and impostures.

I shall conclude this discourse of impostures with these passages out of the *Lord Herberts History of Henry 8.*

*Herberts
Hist of
Henry 8.*

*A.D. 1538.
p. 431.*

“The King having issue Male, proceeded
“more confidently in his designs; and because
“he knew that the pretended and false mira-
“cles of Priests had seduced many ignorant
“people to a superstitious obedience to the
“*Romish See* and reverence of *Monasteries*,
“he resolved to detect them, at least as many
“as he could; for divers were so cunningly
“represented, as they had kept their credit
“for some ages; the manner of these times be-
“ing, if a man were restored to his health up-
“on a Pilgrimage, or obtained any thing he
“desired upon a vow to some Saint, never
“to study other cause. And here out of our
“Records I shall mention some of the Images
“and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of
“those times brought devotion and offerings;
“as our Ladies girdle, shewed in eleven seve-
“ral places, and her Milk in eight, the Bell
“of *St. Guthlac*, and the Felt of *St. Thomas*
“of *Lancaster*, both remedies for the Head-
“ach;

ach: the Pen-knife and Boots of *St. Thomas* of
Canterbury, and a piece of his Shirt much re-
 verenced by great-bellied women: the Coals
 that roasted *St. Laurence*; two or three heads
 of *St. Ursula*, *Malcus* his Ear; and the pair-
 ing of *St. Edmonds* Nails; the Image of an
 Angel with one Wing which brought hither
 the Spears head that pierced Christs side;
 an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her
 hand, which burned nine years together
 without wasting, till one forswearing him-
 self thereon, it went out; and was now
 found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady
 of *Worcester*, from which certain veils and
 dressings being taken, there appeared the
 statue of a Bilhop ten foot high; these and
 others were now brought forth and with
 great ostentation shewed to the people.
 Among which were two notable Trumpe-
 ries I cannot omit: One was the *Rood* of
Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent*; which being made
 with divers vices to turn the eyes and move
 the lips was shewed publickly at *St. Pauls*
Cross by *John Bishop of Rochester* and there
 broken and pulled in pieces. The other
 was at *Hales* in *Gloucestershire*, where the
 Blood of Christ brought from *Jerusalem* be-
 ing kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages,
 had drawn many great offerings to it from
 remote places: and it was said to have this

“ property, that if a man were in mortal sin,
 “ and not absolved he could not see it ; other-
 “ wise very well : Therefore every man that
 “ came to behold this Miracle confest himself
 “ first to a Priest there, and then offering some-
 “ thing to the Altar, was directed to a Chap-
 “ pel where the Relick was shewed ; the
 “ Priest who confest him (in the mean while)
 “ retiring himself to the back part of the said
 “ Chappel, and putting forth a Cabinet or
 “ Tabernacle of Chrystal, which being thick
 “ on the one side that nothing could be seen
 “ through it, but on the other side thin and
 “ transparent they used diversely : For if a rich
 “ and devout man sentred, they would shew
 “ the thick side, till he had paid for as many
 “ Masses, and given as large Alms as they
 “ thought fit : after which (to his great joy)
 “ they permitted him to see the thin side and
 “ the blood. Which yet (as my Author a
 “ Clerk of the Council to *Edward* the sixth
 “ and living in those times affirms) was
 “ proved to be the blood of a Duck every
 “ week renewed by the Priests, who kept the
 “ secret betwixt them. Besides which, the
 “ Images of our *Lady of Walsingham*, of
 “ *Ipswich*, of *Fenrife*, of *Islington*, and
 “ *St. John of Osulston* (called otherwise
 “ *Mr. John Shorn*) who was said to shut up
 “ the Devil in a Boot ; and divers others were
 “ publicly burnt.

“ And

“ And by this means the Monasteries grew
 “ infamous where most of these Images were
 “ kept, and divers were undeceived who be-
 “ fore held a Reverend opinion of these pre-
 “ tended Relicks and Miracles.

“ After which, he relates, how the King P. 437, 438.
 “ discovered the Forgery of the Miracles pre-
 “ tended to be wrought at *Thomas Becket's*
 “ shrine, and that the Scull which the People
 “ did so much venerate, was not his own,
 “ that being found together with his body in
 “ the Tomb.

I leave it now to the judgement of the
 Reader, what credit such Miracles deserve,
 which are reported by Persons who think it
 lawful to lie in these matters, and which,
 where strict examination hath been made,
 have been discovered so often to be notori-
 ous impostures? And this may abundantly suf-
 fice for the first particular, which was the
 comparing the Miracles of the Roman
 Church with those of Christ and his Apo-
 stles in point of credibility.

§. 12. 2. I come to compare them as to Their Mi-
 racles be-
 ing grant-
 ed do not
 prove their
 Churches
 Infallibili-
 ty.
 the Testimony given by them to Infallibility,
 i. e. whether the Miracles supposed to be
 wrought in the Roman Church do equally
 prove that Church Infallible as those wrought
 by Christ and his Apostles did prove them In-
 fallible.

For

For clearing of this I shall premise these particulars.

1. That it is agreed on both sides, that the miracles wrought by Christ and his Apostles, did sufficiently prove that they were Teachers sent from God. For we are assured by the universal Testimony of all Christians (not contradicted by their greatest Adversaries) that the first Preachers of the Christian Religion did work so many, so publick, so great miracles, that all impartial Persons could not but look upon them as persons immediately sent by God. And Christ himself declared *that this was the end for which he did those miraculous works, that men might believe by them that God had sent him*, that without these *men might have had an excuse for their Infidelity*, that *his works did bear witness of him*; And his Evangelist declares, *that this was the end for which these miracles are recorded, that men might believe that Jesus was the son of God*. Afterwards, when he was risen from the dead and he sent abroad his Disciples to preach the Gospel, he told them that *God would bear them witness by divers signs and miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost*, of which we have a full account in the Books of the new Testament. As to all which miracles we have not the least ground of suspicion of any fraud or imposture, being

publickly

Matt. 11. 5.
John 5. 36.

15. 24.

20. 30, 31.

Mark. 16.

17, 18.

Heb. 2. 4.

publicly done in the presence of enemies; and written in a time when the Testimony of Writers might be easily contradicted, and when all imaginable way's were used to make the first Witnesses of these things to recant their Testimonies, by the greatest severities and persecutions: in stead of which they persisted with great resolution and laid down their lives rather than weaken the Testimony which they had given. Thus we see such great and extraordinary effects of Divine Power which we ought to call miracles, were wrought by Christ and his Apostles on purpose to confirm their own Authority that they were Persons sent from God, and therefore could not deceive the World in the doctrine delivered by them.

2. The Authority and Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles being thus confirmed by the miracles wrought by them, there cannot be any such necessity in succeeding Ages to confirm the same doctrine by miracles. For if it were once fully proved by those miracles then wrought, there can want nothing further to establish the faith of succeeding Ages than a certain conveyance of those miracles to them. Those miracles being wrought for the benefit of succeeding Ages, as well as of that present Age: And if those miracles would not serve for the Ages following as well as that present
time

time, it might with as much reason be said that then they did serve only for those who saw them. For on the same ground that Persons then, in regard of distance of Place, were bound to believe although they did not see them wrought; so likewise are others in regard of distance of time, only supposing the certainty of conveyance to be equal. But it is with much advantage to us, by the concurrent Testimony of so many Ages, and the effects of the doctrine confirmed by those miracles upon so many nations of the World, notwithstanding all the Power and subtilty which were used against it.

3. The less the necessity and the greater the pretence to miracles, so much more reason there is to suspect them. Because God, we are certain, doth not imploy his Power in going beyond the common effects of nature to little or no purpose. When we see, that in all the writings of Scripture miracles were very sparingly wrought, unless it were for the confirmation of a new Religion, as that of *Moses* and *Christ*; if afterwards we find such abundance of miracles pretended to, that no Age or Country of one sort of men, but give out that multitudes of these are done among them, what, must we think that God hath changed the Method of his Providence? and not rather, that God is true, but such men

men are liars, or through ignorance and credulity take those for miracles which are not so.

4. Those cannot be true miracles which are pretended to be wrought to confirm a doctrine contrary to what is already confirmed by miracles. For God will never imploy his power to contradict himself; he may in the establishing of one Religion foretel the coming of another afterwards in its room by his own appointment as in the Gospel succeeding the Law; but the latter miracles in this case do not contradict, but rather confirm the doctrine of the former; but when he hath declared that no other Religion shall come into the world after that which is confirmed by miracles, as it is with the Christian Religion, then to suppose miracles wrought to confirm any doctrine contrary to that, is to suppose that God by miracles should contradict himself. Therefore although in the beginning of a Religion, the doctrine is to be proved by miracles, yet that being once supposed, miracles afterwards are to be tryed by the doctrine. And then though an Angel from heaven should preach or offer to confirm any other doctrine by miracles than that which was first confirmed by Christ and his Apostles, we are bound to reject that doctrine and to suspect those miracles not to be from God.

5. Where

5. Where false and lying miracles are foretold by a doctrine confirmed by true miracles; there can be no reason to believe upon such miracles till they are evidently distinguished from such as are deceitful. Now this is plainly the case in the Christian Religion, Christ himself hath foretold that *men shall*
 Marth. 24. *arise doing such great wonders in imitation*
 24. *of him as should deceive if it were possible the*
 2 Thess. 2. *very elect*; and his Apostles: *that his greatest enemies should appear with all power and signs and lying wonders.* Can any thing be now more reasonable than after such forewarnings for us to examine all pretences of miracles, by trying whether they can be evidently distinguished from all deceitfull appearances of miracles; which may be wrought by a power less than divine? For in this case the evidence must be such, as the persons concerned are to judge by; to tell them any distinctions which they cannot proceed by in the judgement of miracles, is to speak impertinently, where rules of Judgement are required.

6. If the continuance of the power of miracles be asserted to prove the Churches infallibility in every Age, there must not only evident proof be given that such miracles are wrought, but that they are wrought for this very end. For if God may work miracles for another

another end, either to shew his Providence in general, or particular Regard to some men, then the meer proving miracles cannot be sufficient, but it must be shewed that these miracles could be wrought for no other end, but to prove the Church infallible.

These things being premised I now come to shew.

1. That in the Roman Church, they cannot give any evident distinction between the miracles they pretend to, and such which we are bid to beware of.

2. That they can never prove that the miracles wrought in their Church could be wrought for no other end, than to prove the infallibility of their Church.

1. That in the Roman Church they cannot give any evident distinction between their miracles and such as we are bid to beware of. For which we are to consider, that scarce any Religion or superstition hath obtained in the world, but it hath pretended to be confirmed by some kind of miracles; which in it self is no more a prejudice to true miracles than sophistical arguments are to true reasoning. But those who pretend to miracles in a Church which is founded on a doctrine confirmed by undoubted miracles must give such evidence of the truth of them, as may apparently distinguish them from all false pretences.

For

For if they give no other answers to such pretences of miracles as they condemn in others, but what will destroy the Authority of the miracles asserted by themselves, then they can prove no more the Churches infallibility by their miracles, than either Philosophers, Heathens, or Hereticks could do by theirs. If the bare pretence of miracles would serve, for all that I know *Pythagoras* might deserve at least as much esteem as *St. Francis*, or *St. Dominick*; for the Scholars of the one delivered as unanimously the report of his miracles, as the Disciples of the other could do. *Pythagoras* his taming the *Dannian Bear*; (reported saith *Porphyrie* in his life by ancient Writers of good credit) and charging him never after to hurt any living Creature, was to my understanding as great a miracle as *St. Francis* his taming the Wolf. And his whispering the *Tarentine Bull* in the ear and perswading him to eat no more bean's, (who for his great abstinence afterwards was called *the sacred Bull*) was altogether as good an argument of the restoring the State of Innocency to him, as the command over brute Creatures was to *St. Francis*, or any other Legendary Saints. The Rivers saluting him (whether it were called *Caucasus* as *Porphyrie* hath it, or *Nessus* as *Laertius*, and *Jamblichus*; or *Cosus* as *Ælian*, or what ever were the true name

Porphyr.

vit. Pythag.

name of it) was as great an argument of his Sanctity, as the Trees in *Fursellinus*, bowing to the Chappel of *Loreto* were of the miraculous sanctity of it. Why should not his being seen at the same time at *Metapont* in *Italy*, and *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, be as great a wonder, as the being seen in several places at once has being reported of several of the Romish Saints? Why should not his *golden thigh* be as miraculous, as the restored Leg at *Zaragosa*? unless the Priest *Abaris* be proved a falser witness, than *Hieronimus Brizids*; or the people of *Zaragosa* less suspected of partiality, than the *Greeks*, at the *Olympick* games: at which some Authors tell us *Pythagoras* shewed his *Golden thigh*. Why should St. *Francis* his *Ass* that stood still to hear him preach, be more miraculous, than the *Ass*, which *Suidas* reports, heard *Ammonianus* his *Lectures*? Why should the speaking of Images in the Roman Church prove the infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, more than it did in old Heathen *Rome*? for as the Roman Breviary saith that an Image spake to *Aquinas*, and commended his writings, so the old Roman Writers say, that the Image of *Fortune* spake not once but twice to the *Matrons* and commended their dedication of her: and so did the Image of *Juno Moneta* at *Veij* to the Souldier that asked her whether she

*Suid. v.
Ammonian.*

*Val. Max.
l. i. c. 8.
3. 4.*

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would

would go to Rome? to whom she answered, *she would*. Why may not *Æsculapius* his cure of the woman in his Temple at *Epidaurus* mentioned by *Ælian* be thought as strange as *Xaverius* his appearing to *Fr. Marcellus Mastrilli* at *Naples* and curing him upon his promise to go to the *Indies*? which is another of the miracles so much magnified by *E. W.* If there be any difference, that of *Æsculapius* seems the greater miracle? Why should not the miracles attributed to the Emperours *Vespasian*, *Adrian*, and *Aurelian*, related by *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Spartianus*, and *Vopiscus*, have as much credit at least as those of the Legendary Saints? since the Writers of them are looked on as men of more sincerity and integrity, by those of their own Church, than the Authors of the Lives of the Saints are.

But to come yet nearer, how can their pretended miracles prove the Church they are wrought in to be the true Church and infallible; since by their own confession, miracles to all appearance as great have been wrought among *hereticks* and in a *false Church*? And by the Answers they give to these we shall easily judge, how far they can give evidence of the truth of their own miracles. The Ecclesiastical Historians report several miracles that have been wrought by *Hereticks* and

Schisma-

Ælian. de animal. l. 9. c. 33.

Tacit. Hist. 4. Sueton. Vesp. c. 7. Spartian. in Adrian. Vopiscus in Aurel.

Schismatics; *Philostorgius* attributes the *Philostorg.*
 power of miracles to the *Arian Bishops*, to *apud. Phot.*
Eusebius Bishop of *Nicomedia*, to *Agapetus* *Cod. 40. &*
 Bishop of *Synada*, of whom he saith that he *and Nige-*
raised the dead and healed all sorts of diseases, *tan Choniat*
 to *Theophilus*, to *Aëtius*, *Ennomius*, *Leon-* *l. 5. c. 7.*
tius, *Candidus*, *Evagrius*, *Arrianus*, and *Philostorg.*
Florentius. *Socrates* attributes the same *l. 2. tom. 8.*
 power to the *Novatians*; as to *Paulus* the *l. 3. tom. 4.*
 Bishop of that party when he was to baptize *l. 4. n. 7.*
 the Jewish Impostor, and the water mira- *l. 9. n. 1.*
 culously disappeared; And *Sozomen* to *Socrat.*
En-tychianus of the same party; And the *Don-*
tists, to *Pontius* and *Donatus* as we have *l. 7. c. 17.*
 already seen from *St. Augustin.* Now if the *Sozom. l. 1.*
 tryal of the Church in those day's had been by *c. 14.*
 miracles, I would fain know on which side
 the advantage had been? *St. Chrysostom*,
 disowns any such thing as a continuance of
 the power of miracles in the Bishops of the
 Catholick Church, as besides the places al-
 ready produced to that purpose, may be seen
 in several others: wherein he supposes, *that* *αὐτὸς*
there is not so much as a footstep of that *μὴν συνά-*
power of miracles left in the Church which *μενος ἐκεί-*
was in the Apostles; he asserts, *that God* *νός ἐστὶν*
hath put a stop to miracles, that he doth not *ἵχνην ὁμο-*
give it to the most worthy persons, that they *ἀλλαντίας*
de sacerdot. l.

τὰ σημεῖα ἔπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς in *Matth. hom. 33. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀξίον διδόναι*,
Tom. 5. p. 277. Tom. 6. p. 148.

were intended only for unbelievers, and that there is no need of them where the Christian faith is settled. What now should be said in this case? for it is just the same as between us and the Church of *Rome*, the Catholick Bishops pretended no more to a Power of miracles than the Protestant Bishops do now; but the *Arians*, *Ennomians*, *Novatians* and *Donatists* all challenged this power of miracles to themselves, therefore it is a plain case, if the Church of *Rome* be now in the right, then so were these Heretical and Schismatical parties, if the Protestants be mistaken, so were *St. Chrysostom* and the Bishops of the Catholick Church.

But what answer now do these men give to these instances? even such as very easily returns upon themselves, and upon the very same grounds we may overthrow the Authority of their miracles.

1. They say, the testimony of the writers ought to be suspected of partiality to their own side. So *Malacterus* answers the Testimony of *Socrates*; saying that he either feigned, or related these miracles to the honour of his own party; but this answer is both false and destructive to themselves. It is false, because notwithstanding what *Baronius*, *Labbe* and others have said, *Socrates* was no *Novatian*, as *Henri Valesius*, hath well proved in his

Malact. in
Thom. 2. 2.
q. 1. art. 5.
sect. 6.

his preface to his History. But suppose he were, must the Authority of all Persons be taken away that relate things to the honour of their own Church? what then becomes of all the miracles of the *Roman* Church? are they attested by any but such who are well wishers to the truth of them? and that may go a great way in the belief of them. Were not *Gabriel de Aldama* the Vicar General and *Hieronimus Brizide* and the rest of the subscribers as great Friends to the Church of *Rome* and as much concerned for the honour of it, as *Socrates* could be for the *Novatians*? why then should their testimony for the restored Legat *Zaragoza* be more creditable than *Socrates* his, for *Paulus* the *Novatian* Bishop? So that, if interest takes away all authority in these matters, then we cannot safely believe the Testimony of any in the Church of *Rome*, for the miracles wrought in it; if notwithstanding that, the Authority of witnesses stands good; then miracles may be wrought in heretical or schismatical Churches; and consequently can prove nothing as to the truth, or infallibility of the Church. But neither the *Novatians*, nor *Arians*, nor *Donatists* were convicted of so many forgeries in this matter of miracles as those of the Church of *Rome* have been; they never thought it lawful, that we can find, to tell lies for the

honour of their Church; both which we have already proved concerning the reporters of miracles in the *Roman Church*; and therefore their Testimony ought more to be suspected in this matter, than that of honest Heathens or Hereticks.

2. They answer, *that notwithstanding all the outward appearance of miracles, the things done by them might be no true miracles.* So *Malderus* goes on saying, *that the pretended miracle of Paulus the Novatian Bishop, was not such as did exceed the power of the Devil.* And *Bellarmin* grants that there can be no infallible certainty of the truth of a miracle before the approbation of the Church; the reason he gives is this, *because though the Devil can do no true miracles, yet he can do the greatest to appearance.* Now I would fain understand this, how miracles can prove the truth and infallibility of the Church, if the truth of miracles depends upon the Churches approbation? *i. e.* whether I must not first believe the Church to be true, before I can possibly be certain whether a miracle be true or not? I know, *Bellarmin* saith, *that the Church is proved by miracles not as to infallible certainty; but as to the evidence of credibility.* But what evidence of credibility can there be from miracles, where no one can be certain whether they be miracles or not? For the

*Bellarmin. de
no:is Eccl.
l. 4. c. 14.*

the making faith credible by miracles doth suppose those miracles to be first certainly known to be such; but in this case, if the power of the Devil can extend so far, as that no certain difference can be assigned between true and apparent miracles, but from the Churches approbation, how is it possible the Church should be certainly known by miracles, if the miracles cannot be certainly known but by the Church? So that for us to distinguish the miracles done by Hereticks and those in the Catholick Church, we must appeal to the judgement of the Catholick Church; and yet our way to know, which is the Catholick Church saith *E. W.* and his Brethren must be by miracles; *i. e.* we must know a man by such marks which we cannot know to be the marks of such a man till we first know the man. But it may be others speak more consistently and reasonably in this matter: and therefore,

3. They answer, *that although Hereticks may do real miracles yet not for the confirmation of their heresie; but of some common truth.* So the same *Malderus* saith, *that the Novatian miracle being granted to be true, doth not confirm the error of the Novatians, but the truth of the Sacrament, for the Jew was baptized before by the Arians and Macedonians.* So *Michael*

*Mich. Medina de re-
clā in De-
um f. 1. 2.
c. 7. p. 53.
F. 1. 2. c. 56.* Medina salves the miracles wrought among the Pagans, that they did give testimony to divine providence and not to their particular superstitions. Fevardentius confesses the Church hath never determined that Hereticks cannot work true miracles, and that those who hold the affirmative have plain Testimonies of Fathers for them; which he there mentions. If this be true then miracles now can prove nothing as to the Truth or infallibility of the Church, when the communions of Christians are different from each other; for the miracles wrought may only be for the attestation of some common truths received among all Christians or to manifest the Providence of God to the world.

*Lingendes
Concion. in
Quadrages.
Tom. 2.
Conc. 2.*

Among their late writers none hath considered this difficulty with more care and diligence than Father *Lingendes* hath done, both with a respect to the miracles of Heathens and Hereticks. "To which he thus answers. "1. That for the most part, they were false "and counterfeit, at least they were not true "miracles, if the name of miracle be taken "strictly and properly: for, saith he, either "they were meer illusions of the senses; or "they did not exceed any created power, ei- "ther in the substance or the manner of "them, and therefore the Devils might ea- "sily effect them. 2. That some circum- "stances

stances did discover the imposture; when true miracles were wrought in opposition to them, as in *Pharaohs Magicians* and *Simon Magus*: otherwise God would not permit evil men to work miracles. 3. That God hath given a most certain rule for the tryal of miracles *viz. God is faithful and cannot deny himself*: and therefore he cannot be the Author of miracles whereby things contrary to each other are confirmed. Wherefore saith he, if a faith once established by miracles be impugned by other miracles, we are to believe the latter miracles to be meer imposture. For the Apostle tells us, *that Jesus Christ is not yea and nay, but a Yea and Amen*; and *although we or an Angel from heaven preach another Gospel, let him be Anathema*. See the wisdom of the Apostle: He brings us back to the first preaching, which was not lightly established but with innumerable miracles, which were most certain and most manifest: from whence he concludes that all others that are brought to confirm any doctrine contrary to this ought to be rejected. But of what sort? even though an Angel or an Apostle should preach another doctrine; for, saith he, among things impossible, that is the most impossible that God should lie: which is far more impossible than that

2 Cor. I.
19, 20.
Gal. I. 8.

“ an

"an Angel should; and consequently what
 "God hath once attested by miracles, can be
 "less false than when an Angel hath attested;
 "or the Apostle spake this, that by this means
 "we may discover the Devil, when he trans-
 "forms himself into an Angel of light. 4. If
 "any true miracles were wrought among Hea-
 "thens and Infidels, as it may be some were;
 "yet none were ever wrought to confirm any
 "falshood or error, but for some truth, or
 "some benefit to mankind, among which he
 "reckons the miracles of *Claudia the Roman*
 "*Lady* and of the *vestal virgin* to give testi-
 "mony to their innocency. After this he
 "descends to a more particular examination of
 "the miracles of Hereticks and false Christi-
 "ans, and as to these he lays down these propo-
 "sitions. 1. That miracles are of two kinds,
 "some strictly and properly so called, which are
 "effects exceeding all created Powers, either
 "as to the substance or the manner of them;
 "as the curing a man born blind, the raising
 "the dead, &c. others, are such as exceed
 "the common power of nature, although
 "there may be some secret and hidden causes
 "of them that may lie within the compass
 "of nature. The first sort he saith, are the
 "only undoubted testimonies of truth; but
 "the other may be wrought by the Devils
 "power, either by local motion, or the ap-
 "plication

"plication of the power of natural Agents. Of
 "this sort, saith he, are the miracles done
 "by false Christs and false Prophets and by
 "Antichrist; and among these he reckons all
 "manner of cures, when the diseases are not
 "wholly incurable. 2. He saith that mira-
 "cles of this later sort are equivocal signs and
 "may be referred to different causes, and
 "therefore nothing can be determined by them
 "considered in themselves; because they may
 "be done by a different power and for a dif-
 "ferent end. When they are done for osten-
 "tation, or delight, or curiosity, they cannot
 "have God for their Author; much less when
 "they are wrought to confirm a false do-
 "ctrine, or for an evil end: therefore when
 "such miracles are wrought for confirmation
 "of an error they have not God but the De-
 "vil for their cause. For although they be
 "equivocal of themselves, yet the determi-
 "ning of them to an evil end such as the
 "confirmation of an error is, takes away all
 "equivocalness in them. 3. He asserts, that
 "true and proper miracles in the first sense,
 "although most commonly wrought by good
 "men as Gods instruments, yet may sometimes
 "be done, by wicked men, and Hereticks and
 "Infidels. For which he instances in *Balaam*,
 "and those our Saviour mentions, who should
 "boast of the miracles they had wrought in
 "his

"his name; which Christ doth not deny;
 "but only rejects them for being workers of
 "iniquity; and in *Judas*, who wrought mi-
 "racles with the other Apostles, although
 "we do not read that the *Blessed Virgin*, or
 "*Joseph*, or *John* the Baptist ever wrought
 "any. He observes from *St. Austin* that
 "God gives this power of miracles to evil
 "men when he denies it to good. 1. Lest
 "the power should be attributed to the instru-
 "ment: or seem to take its vertue from thence.
 "2. Because miracles are not wrought for the
 "good of the efficient, but for the good of
 "others. 3. Lest men should set a higher
 "value upon miracles than upon true good-
 "ness and vertue. For, Saith he, this is a
 "false consequence, such a man does mira-
 "cles, therefore he is approved or his do-
 "ctrine; such a place miracles are wrought
 "in, therefore such a place is approved; for
 "by this consequence, wicked men, Hereticks
 "and Infidels would be approved, of whom
 "it is certain that they have wrought mira-
 "cles. 4. Such kind of miracles though they
 "may be done by Hereticks can never be
 "wrought for the confirmation of error; for
 "that were to charge God himself with
 "falshood; but miracles of the other sort he
 "grants may be wrought for the confirmation
 "of errors, because they are such as do not
 "exceed

"exceed the Devils power: and in this case to
 "know whether they come from God or the
 "Devil, must be taken from the end for which
 "they are wrought, as he shews from *S. Austin*.
 From which discourse of *Lingendes* it follows,
 that since the confirmation of Christian Re-
 ligion by miracles, the only certain way of
 distinguishing true and deceitful miracles is
 from the end for which they were wrought:
 For he grants that to all outward appearance,
 Hereticks and false Christians may do as great
 as any; nay God himself may use them as his
 Instruments to confirm Truth by; but we are
 sure God cannot imploy his Power to confirm
 a falshood. Since therefore we are forewarned
 that men shall appear with such signs and ly-
 ing wonders, *as would if it were possible de-
 ceive the very Elect*; since no distinction can
 be made from the things themselves between
 the effects of a created invisible power, and of
 a divine in most things which pass for mira-
 cles; since Hereticks may be Gods instruments
 in the most divine miracles for a good end,
 it necessarily follows that the pretence of mi-
 racles is far from proving the truth and in-
 fallibility of the Church wherein they are
 wrought, till it be made appear, that they
 are truly divine miracles, that they are
 wrought for this end to prove this Churches in-
 fallibility, and that the Churches infallibility
 doth

doth not contradict any part of that doctrine which hath been already confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

2. They can never prove that the miracles wrought in the Roman Church, were wrought for no other end but to prove the Infallibility of their Church. When Christ and his Apostles wrought miracles to prove their Infallibility, they wrought the miracles themselves, and declared that this was the end for which they were wrought that men might believe *that they were Teachers sent from God*; but there is nothing like this in the miracles of the Roman Church: They are generally pretended to be done at some Shrine or Monument, or by a vision of some Saint, and among the most credulous people, but by no means for the satisfaction of Infidels or Hereticks, whose very presence is enough to spoil a well contrived miracle; but supposing the things true which are reported, what doth a restored Leg to a poor Boy at *Zaragoza* in *Spain* signifie to the proof of the Roman Churches Infallibility? or *Father Marcellus* his cure at *Naples* by a vision of *Xaverius*, to the proof of *Pius* the fourths Creed? If they will prove any thing by this way of miracles, let their Missionaries here among us, whom they account Infidels and Hereticks, do the same things that Christ and his Apostles did

did for the conversion of Jews and Gentiles. Let them heal all manner of diseases as publicly, as commonly, as perfectly, as suddenly as they did; and with no more art or ceremony; let us see them raise the dead, and not think we will be put off with *painted Straws*, or *counterfeit Trances*, which we hope they are ashamed of themselves; such things, I assure them, tend not to the credit of their power of miracles among us, and do not much help our faith in the belief of things done at a great distance and in such places where credulity and superstition reign. If you do miracles in earnest do them before enemies, as Christ and his Apostles did, give us leave to stand by, that we may be satisfied from the circumstances of them that they are true miracles, and wrought to testify that your Teachers are sent from God. But you do not pretend to work miracles to confirm the Authority of your Teachers, for then of all persons your Popes should work the greatest miracles, and the Bishops who sit in General Councils, among whom this Infallibility is lodged, therefore there is no parallel between the miracles done in the Church of *Rome*, and those which were wrought by Christ or his Apostles. If all that had been pleaded in the Apostles times for their divine commission had been only that *a poor Boy had his Leg cut*

cut off and strangely restored; or that some persons were suddenly cured of a dangerous disease by the vision of an Apostle, would this have ever satisfied the world, that the Apostles were Persons sent from God and assisted by an infallible Spirit? Supposing the matters of Fact were true, it might be reasonably demanded, why God might not do such extraordinary cures in some rare cases, without making that Company of men infallible among whom they are done? For we see their own Writers acknowledge, that God may do real miracles even among Pagans and Infidels, to give testimony to his universal Providence. And *suarez* particularly distinguisheth in this case of miracles, saying that a miracle may be wrought two ways. 1. Without respect to any truth at all to be confirmed by it, but only for the benefit of him that receives it, as in case of a miraculous cure or such like. 2. When it is wrought purposely to confirm the truth of a doctrine. Now I say, supposing I should grant all that *E. W.* contends for, as to the truth of the two miracles he insists so much upon, viz. the cure of *F. Marcellus*, and the restored Leg at *Zaragosa*, what can this prove as to their Churches infallibility, if according to *suarez* such miracles may be wrought only for the benefit of those who receive them? *Del-Rio* saith this is no good consequence,

Suarez de
Fide disp. 4.
Sect. 3. n. 10.

quence, such a one wrought miracles therefore Del. Rol. disquis. Ma- gic. l. 6. c. 7.
 his faith is true, because God may work mi-
 racles by Infidels, but this consequence, he
 faith, is good, such a one wrought miracles to
 confirm the faith which he professed, therefore
 his faith is true, because God cannot work
 miracles purposely to confirm a falsehood. But
 withall, he saith, elsewhere, that the faith be-
 ing now establisht, there is little or no ne-
 cessity of miracles to confirm it. L. 4. c. 4. quæst. 5. art. 2.
 Supposing then some true miracles to be wrought in the
 Roman Church, what consequence can be
 thence drawn for that Churches infallibility
 in doctrine, if those miracles are not wrought
 for that end? as *E. W.* never undertook to
 prove that they were. And if the conse-
 quence will not hold as to a particular person
 for the truth of his faith, from the bare work-
 ing of miracles, neither can it for the truth
 or infallibility of a Church, for the same rea-
 son; for if God may work miracles by Infidels,
 he may likewise in a false or corrupt
 Church. *Maldonat*, another Jesuit confesseth
 that since the Christian Religion hath been
 confirmed by miracles in the Churches begin-
 ning, there is no necessity of miracles for that
 end, and quotes Gregory and Bede for it;
 who compare the power of miracles to the wa-
 tering of a plant which is only needful at first
 and is given over when it hath taken root. Maldonat. in Marc. 16, 17.

X x

that

that whatever miracles they suppose to remain in the Church, they do not look on them as wrought for the confirmation of any necessary part of Christian faith, such as the Churches Infallibility is asserted to be by

*Andrad. de-
sens. fid.
Trid. l. 2.*

*Fer. in
Matth. 24.
v. 23, 24.*

*Acosta de
temp. noviss.
l. 2. c. 9.*

C. 18.

*Cajet. de
concept. vir-
ginis c. 1.*

E. W. Andradius saith that miracles are oft-times false, but always weak proofs of a true Church. *Ferus*, that the doctrine of a Church is not to be proved by miracles, but miracles by the doctrine, viz. because Christ hath forewarned us of false Prophets doing so many signs and wonders. So that *Acosta* saith, that in the time of Antichrist it will be a hard matter to discern true and false signs, when these later shall be many and great, and very like the true; and he quotes it from *Hippolytus* whom he calls an antient Writer, that Antichrist shall do far greater miracles than the cure of *Marcellus*, or the restored Leg at *Zaragoza*, viz. that he shall raise the dead as well as cure the diseased, and have command over all the elements. And I would understand from *E. W.* whether Antichrist's Church will not then be proved as infallible in this way as the Church of Rome? *Cajetan* determines that the Church hath no ground to determine any matter of doctrine now on the account of miracles; because the Devil may do such things which we cannot distinguish from true miracles, as in great cures, &c. and because signs were

were given for unbelievers, but the Church now hath the Revelation of Prophets and Apostles to proceed by: and because miracles prove only a personal faith, i. e. of one that saith he is sent from God; and because the doctrine of the Scripture is delivered to us with so much certainty, that if an Angel from Heaven should deliver any thing contrary to it we are not to believe him; and lastly, because the most authentick testimonies of miracles among them, viz. in the Canonization of Saints, are not altogether certain, because it is written every man is a lyer: and he supposes that faith must stand on a more infallible certainty than that of their miracles. And many of their most learned Writers do assert, that there can be no certainty of the truth of any miracles among them, but from the Churches approbation; which is in effect to say, they do not believe the Church infallible because of their miracles, but they believe their miracles to be true, because they believe their Church to be infallible. For which *Paulus Zacchias* gives this reason, because wicked men and Devils may not only do miracles in appearance, but such as are really so, as the instruments of divine Power; and because credulous people are very apt to be deceived with false miracles instead of true. And after he hath laid down the conditions

Paul Zacchias
Quest
Medic. Leg.
gal. l. 4.
tit. l. 9. §.
n. 5, 6, 10.

q. 4. n. 3.

of a true miracle he hath a chapter on purpose to enquire, *why since miracles very rarely happen, yet so many are still pretended to in the Roman Church?* One cause he assigns of it is the monstrous credulity of their people in this matter of miracles, who make so many, that he saith, *if they were to be believed, miracles would be almost as common as the ordinary effects of nature; for no odd or unusual accident happens, but among them passes for a miracle; no man escapes out of a dangerous disease* (especially if by the disturbance of his Fancy, he imagines he had a vision of some Saint as *Xaverius* or the like) *but he gives out he obtained his recovery by a miracle; no man avoids any great danger or trouble* (if he chanced to think of the Blessed Virgin in it, or made any addressees to some Saint, for I do not find that praying to God or Christ is so effectual for miracles as praying to the Saints is) *but this is cryed up for a miracle.* *Riolanus* gives the relation of a man that was hanged and his body delivered to the Physicians to be dissected, who found there was some life in him, and by letting blood and other means they recovered him, who afterwards returning to his own Country *Oettingen*, where there was a celebrated image of the Blessed Virgin, this very recovery was there painted for a substantial miracle. But

*Riola. An-
thograph.
l. 1. c. 15.*

to

to return to Zacchias : miracles, saith he, are made so common among us, as though God had nothing else to do with his Power but to pervert the course of nature by it at the beck of any idle fellow ; as if God did not manage his power, as he does all things else, with infinite wisdom ; as if God employed his extraordinary power without great and most urgent causes. For when it was necessary to shew his power for the confirmation of the Christian Religion and the satisfaction of unbelievers, then all persons might see the wonderful works of God : but now, saith he, when the Truth of Christianity is known it would be to no purpose for God to shew so many miracles. But whence then comes it, that so many miracles are still talked of ? This arises, saith he, from the devotion of some who attribute ordinary effects of nature to a miraculous Power ; and from the Superstitious folly and fraud of others who will not endure any thing cryed up for a miracle should be ever questioned by any ; but say, it is profane, Atheistical, and which is somewhat worse, heretical to do it. Whereas poor wretches, they do not think what injury they do the Catholick cause, while they go about to strengthen it with lies and forgeries ; when the Christian doctrine is already fully confirmed by the most true and undoubted mi-

N 7. *racles of Christ and his Apostles. What need they then to feign any new miracles? Doth God need your lies, will ye talk deceitfully for him? as I may justly use the words of Job, saith he, of these men. Another cause of so much talk of miracles in the Roman Church, he saith, is Ignorance; whereby any extraordinary accident, though such as might happen, where Christianity was never known, is extolled for a miracle.*

Quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre possunt, hac fieri divino numine rentur.

N 9. From hence he proceeds to particulars, and shews, that most of those who are accounted possessed among them are *Melancholy and Hypochondriacal men and Hysterical women:*

Quest. 5. and then examines the pretence to *Inspiration*
 6, 7, 8, 9, and *Prophecy, to raptures and extasies, to mi-*
 10, 11. *raculous cures, to prodigious fastings, to incorruption of bodies, to raising from the dead* and shews under every one of these heads, how very often the meer effects of nature pass for miracles in the *Roman Church*; to whose learned discourses I refer the Reader: and we may easily understand the meaning of such a person, when he tells us after all this, *that the Church will not suffer men to be deceived about miracles, but such as the Church approves*

approves are to be approved. Now let any one judge whether such persons who receive no other miracles, but such which the Church commands them to believe, could ever imagine that the Infallibility of their Church was proved by such miracles, which they would not believe to be true, unless they first believed the Church which approved them to be infallible.

Fortunatus Scacchus, a man of great Authority in Rome, grants that it is a very easie matter to take false miracles for true; and that no certain argument can be taken from Tables which are hung up as Images or shrines; that wicked men may do real miracles, which he proves from Scripture and History, and the continued practice in their Church, from whence he concludes, that no argument can be drawn for the sanctity of any Person, but only from such miracles as are approved by the Roman Church. For, saith he, it belongs only to the Authority of the Roman See, and the Bishop of Rome to determine which are true miracles? because the promise of infallibility is only made to the Roman Church and the Head of it. From whence he concludes, that no other Bishop hath any Power to approve miracles, especially if they be supposed to be wrought by an uncanonized Saint.

Fortun. Scacch. de notis & signis falsitatis lib. 8. c. 1.

For we are to understand, that the great use

*Aquinas 2.
9. art. 178.
art. 2.*

*Processus
Canoniz. B.
Andree
Corfini part.
2. sect. 3.*

use of miracles in the *Roman Church*, hath not been pretended to be for proving the faith or Infallibility of the Church, but for an argument of Saintship of those who are to be Beatified or Canonized. So *Aquinas* determines, that miracles are either wrought to confirm the truth of a doctrine preached; or for the demonstration of the Sanctity of a Person; and therefore in the Process of Canonization, one main enquiry is, about the miracles wrought by the Person who stands for the preferment of Canonization. In the Process about the Canonization of *Andreas Corfinus* presented to Paul 5. the *Auditors* of the *Rota*, say, that to the Being Canonized, it is concluded by all to be necessary that the person have wrought miracles: and there they agree that it is not necessary to a miracle to be wrought for the confirmation of faith, seeing miracles may be done for another end viz. for the proof of the Sanctity of the Person. And such miracles say they, are those which are done among Catholics, for whose sake miracles would be necessary on no other account: because miracles are a sign not to believers but to unbelievers; whence, as they well observe from *Isidore* St. Paul cured the Father of *Publius* by a miracle, but prescribed to *Timothy* a natural remedy. And *Contelorius* cites many other processes of Canonization.

monization to the same purpose viz. to prove conteloz. de
Cazomiz.
Sanctorum.
Cap. 17. n. that it is not necessary to a miracle that it be 7:
done for the confirmation of any part of *Chri-
stian faith*. Since therefore the far greatest
number of the miracles in the *Roman Church*,
are such as are wrought for another end how
can they from them prove the infallibility of
their Church? unless they can make it ap-
pear that where ever there are true Saints, the
Church is Infallible. From which it appears,
that the miracles of the *Roman Church* ought
no more to be compared with those of Christ
and his Apostles as to the Testimony by them
given to Infallibility, than in point of credi-
bility; and that in both respects they are, so
infinitely short of them, that nothing but the
height of impudence could make any man,
pretending to be Christian, to assert, that as
great (nay greater) miracles have been done
by the *Roman Church*, as ever were done by
Christ or his Apostles, in which subject I
have taken the more pains, not meerly to detect
the frauds and impostures of the *Roman*
Church; but to preserve and vindicate the
Honour of Christianity, lest that should
suffer by the intolerable rudeness of these com-
parisons.

The END.

... to the same purpose, viz. to prove
that it is not necessary, as a matter of fact, that
the Roman Church is the true Church of Christ.
Since therefore the far greater
number of the members in the Roman Church,
as such, are acknowledged for another and how
can they from them prove the infallibility of
their Church? unless they can make it ap-
pear that where ever there are the same, the
Church is infallible. From which it appears
that the members of the Roman Church ought
no more to be compared with those of Christ
and his Apostles as to the testimony of in-
fallibility, than in point of cer-
tainty; and that in both respects they are, in-
finitely short of them, that nothing but the
weight of numbers could make any man
pretending to be Christian, to assert, that as
great (any greater) miracles have been done
by the Roman Church, as ever were done by
Christ or his Apostles, in which indeed I
have taken the more pains, merely to detect
the frauds and impostures of the Roman
Church; but to preserve and vindicate the
honour of Christianity, lest they should
suffer by the incredible number of their
passions.

The END.

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